THE HISTORY OF THE THIRTY YEARS WAR IN GERMANY.

Printed by S. Gosnell, Little Queen Street, Holborn.

Rajah 1827

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR

IN

GERMANY.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GERMAN

OF

FREDERIC SCHILLER,

AULIC COUNSELLOR, AND PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY AT JENA,

BY

CAPTAIN BLAQUIERE,

OF THE ROYAL IRISH ARTILLERY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON

PRINTED FOR W. MILLER, OLD BOND STREET.

1799.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

BOOK I.

INTRODUCTION.—State of the Empire.—Religious Parties.—State of Austria.—Of Bohemia.—Religious Dissensions.—The Elector of Cologn embraces the Protestant Faith.—Consequences.—The Elector Palatine.—Dispute about the Succession of Juliers.—Designs of Henry IV. of France.—Union and League.—Death of the Emperor.—Troubles in Bohemia.—Civil War.—The Elector Palatine chosen King by the Bohemians.—Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, invades Austria.—Battle of Prague.—Total Subjection of Bohemia.

Page 1 to 138.

BOOK

BOOK II.

State of the Empire.—Of Europe.—Mansfeld.—Christian Duke of Brunswic.—Wallenstein raises an Imperial Army at his own Expense.—The King of Denmark defeated.—Edict of Restitution in 1628.—Diet at Ratisbon.—Negotiations.—Wallenstein deprived of the Command.—Luxury of his private Life.—Gustavus Adolphus.—Swedish Army.—He takes his Leave of the States at Stockholm.—Invasion of the Swedes.—Their Progress in Germany.—Tilly.—Treaty with France.—Congress at Leipzig.—Siege and cruel Fate of Magdeburg.—Firmness of the Landgrave of Cassel.—Battle at Leipzig.—Consequences of that Victory.

Page 139 to the end.

HISTORY

TRANSLATOR's PREFACE.

AFTER having enjoyed the moſt brilliant reputation throughout Europe, SCHILLER appears, for the firſt time in England, as a hiſtorian; and as ſuch, it is to be hoped, will not be unacceptable to an Engliſh reader of taſte, if any favourable inference can be drawn from the great applauſe which the original of the preſent work has received in Germany, or the ſucceſs of his other productions in general.

The firſt volume of the preſent Hiſtory appeared a few years ſince at Leipzig, in

a periodical work, entitled, The Ladies' Calendar; and its great ſucceſs induced the author to write the ſecond. The work is, however, ſtill in ſome meaſure imperfect; and it is ſincerely to be hoped, that he may be able to continue it as far as the memorable treaty of Munſter, in Weſtphalia.

Although the tranſactions deſcribed in this Hiſtory are more particularly intereſting to a German reader, they are not altogether foreign to Engliſh hiſtory. To this memorable war is aſcribed that balance of power which ſtill preſerves the liberties of Europe; an inſtitution which can never be an object of indifference to thoſe who are anxious for the welfare of their country.

The Tranſlator entertains too well grounded a diffidence of his abilities not to acknowledge,

ledge, that he has given but a very feeble copy of an original, which is written with all the ſpirit and elegance of which the German, the moſt vigorous and eloquent perhaps of all modern languages, is capable of attaining. The German idiom is ſo different from our own, as not to admit of a literal tranſlation; and the warmth of the author's imagination ſometimes indulges itſelf in figures which are not conſiſtent with the chaſter rules of Engliſh hiſtory.

It is hoped the public indulgence will be extended to the performance of a young and inexperienced writer; ſhould any degree of approbation be beſtowed on it, the Tranſlator intends to publiſh the hiſtory of a ſecond war, more recent and more bloody, and by it to terminate the two moſt memorable epochas of the German hiſtory.

DUBLIN,
September 4th, 1799.

WIELAND's PREFACE.

NO work has for a confiderable time appeared in Germany which has been read with more ardent and univerfal applaufe than the firft part of The Hiftory of the Thirty Years War, by which the Aulic Counfellor Schiller has given the Hiftoric Calendar for the Ladies in 1791, a value of which no periodical publication of that nature can hitherto boaft.

Although this work was originally deftined for the fair fex, I will venture to fay, without exaggeration, that it has had as many readers as there are perfons of any pretenfion to tafte in the compafs of our literature. Written by an author whofe earlier effays were in dramatic

compo

compofition, and who now, for the firft time, entered the immediate field of the hiftoric mufe, he exceeded the expectations formed of his riper years from the merit of his earlier productions. The work before us has already furpaffed all that our language could boaft of in this department of literature; and it muft naturally excite in all to whom the glory of their country is not indifferent, a defire that a writer fhould appear who could difplay in this new career talents capable of gaining him a rank with a Hume, a Robertfon, or a Gibbon; and devote them, if not altogether, at leaft principally, to the hiftory of his native country.

Mr. Schiller, after continuing the Thirty Years War down to the period of the decifive battle near Leipzig in 1631, was obliged to break off where the fcene of action (to ufe his own words) became ftill more fertile in brilliant exploits, richer in heroes, more interefting by fudden reverfes of fortune and critical conjunctures. The impatience of the public for his

continuation was equal to the pleaſure with which the commencement of the work was received; and the general expectation that the author would, the enſuing year, reſume his narrative according to his engagement, upon condition of its meeting the approbation of his readers, was believed the more reaſonable, as he obtained this deſire in its fulleſt extent.

The more impatient and well grounded the public expectation was, the greater diſappointment it muſt have afforded, inſtead of the expected concluſion to receive only a *fragment* of the Hiſtory. But I certainly do not flatter my excellent friend too much (who moſt ſeverely felt the impoſſibility of his having fulfilled his engagement), when I aver, that the already univerſally known cauſe of diſappointment was more ſenſibly felt by his readers of both ſexes than by himſelf; and this the more, as it is certain that the too great zeal with which, during the preceding winter, he proſecuted this laborious and important re-

ſearch,

ſearch, by reading, comparing, and reviewing the various ſources, and in preparing the materials which an uninterrupted execution of ſuch an intricate work required, principally contributed to produce a diſtemper which, bidding defiance to medicine, put his life more than once in danger, and which, even after the fortunate ſkill of a celebrated phyſician and the waters of Carlſbade had overcome, ſo reduced his conſtitution, that the hope of prolonging an exiſtence ſo dear to thoſe who have the happineſs of his acquaintance, depends only upon his abandoning every work of importance in future.

Mr. Schiller has every reaſon to expect that the circumſtances of his ſituation have a claim to the indulgence and participation of the public, whoſe eſteem he has no leſs acquired by his talents, than he has attracted that of his friends by his amiable diſpoſition. * * * * * * * * * [*Here ſome ſentences of the*

the original are omitted, as not properly belonging to this tranſlation.]

I ſhall now join my wiſhes with thoſe of every lover of his country, that the author may be enabled to purſue his literary career; for, if I miſtake not, theſe views taken from the German hiſtory are moſt intereſting,—treated with ſuch ſagacity, impartiality, and freedom from prejudice, and with that humanity, juſtice, and indulgence, even towards thoſe for whoſe ſentiments one can ſcarcely refrain from expreſſing contempt; with this continual retroſpect towards the common intereſts, and what is not leſs ſtriking, with ſo much warmth, ſtrength, eloquence, and taſte; in ſhort, executed in the manner of which only Schiller is capable. Without doubt ſuch pictures, taken from our own hiſtory, are the moſt powerful means to reſtore and preſerve the national ſpirit, which in this century appears to have declined, rather than increaſed; and ſtill more to contribute to the perfection

fection and the preservation, if possible, of our constitution, so singular in itself.

Taking it for granted, that all constitutions are less the work of human wisdom and a deliberate plan, than of different parts put together by time and chance; every impartial judge must, in my opinion, confess that the present constitution of Germany is the best which could be fixed at the national assembly at Osnabruc. That assembly procured the nation all the advantages of a limited, mild, and paternal government; and secured the power of both the greater and smaller states, whose organization is more or less republican; and if not wholly free from the disadvantages attending that form of constitution, at least it is from the most insupportable of all tyrannies, democratic or aristocratic despotism.

It is true, our constitution, in order to produce the welfare and happiness of the nation, can dispense as little, and perhaps less, with

the

the moral and native ſources of this harmonic union. Much depends upon the greater or leſs degree of virtue, culture, and underſtanding of the different princes; but in this particular, perhaps no nation in the world can boaſt of a more fortunate ſituation than our preſent. The greater part of our princes (I am unwilling to pay them this tribute, leſt it ſhould wear the aſpect of flattery) are diſtinguiſhed by a laudable diſpoſition to promote the welfare and attachment of their ſubjects, by their talents, activity, and reſpect for the arts and ſciences; in ſhort, by every quality of the heart and mind, which even in a private ſtation would render them reſpectable. In almoſt every part of the German Empire there gradually prevails a ſpirit of improvement, a freedom from old prejudices, a viſible effort towards the reform of former abuſes, the alleviation of common grievances, and the promotion of every undertaking of general advantage. Never were the ſciences in ſuch a flouriſhing condition; never the public education in ſo good a ſtate; never the

the freedom of the prefs (the palladium of mankind) fo unreftrained as it is in the greater part of Germany at this day; and, what every patriot muft with me reckon one of the greateft felicities of our time is, that Germany, for centuries, has not poffeffed a chief endowed in an equal degree with thefe virtuous qualities, which render him fit for the firft throne in the world, as the prefent Emperor, Leopold II. Never before could Germany promife itfelf fuch advantages from the influence of its fovereign, who labours with its other princes for the common advantage of all *.

I muft

* That excellent fovereign, who upon the firft throne in Europe difplayed all the condefcenfion of a private gentleman and the virtues of an honeft man, fell, early in 1792, one of the numberlefs victims of French philofophy and illumination. Too cowardly to employ open force, the French Jacobins had recourfe to the more convenient expedient of affaffination; and poifon, adminiftered to the Emperor by a French governor of Count Collerado's children, terminated in a few hours his exiftence amid horrible convulfions. Such are the means which that philofophic and enlightened people ufe to diffeminate happinefs and virtue among mankind! Leopold's death, however, it is fome confolation to reflect,

I muſt add to thoſe ſingular advantages of our preſent ſituation, the cultivation which begins to operate from higher authority, and which promiſes to oppoſe a contrary ſyſtem (leſs indeed to be dreaded among us than any power in Europe) with the greateſt effect.

The object and the limits of this preface prevent me from expatiating further upon the advantages which we poſſeſs, not only from our preſent circumſtances, but our conſtitution. I am ſenſible of the objections which can be made by thoſe who have cauſe to be dif-

reflect, has been amply avenged by the victories of his accompliſhed and brave ſon, the Archduke Charles.

His Empreſs did not long ſurvive him. That admirable woman, after ſeeing her huſband expire, ſummoned ſtrength ſufficient to go to her eldeſt ſon, the preſent Emperor: ſurrounded by her numerous and beautiful family, and holding her youngeſt child in her arms, ſhe beſought him to ſupply towards them the place of a father. After this ſhe appeared no more, and ſhortly followed to the grave the partner of her ſoul; a rare example of conjugal affection. It is, however, to be hoped, that the afflictions of the one life may be amply recompenſed by their everlaſting felicity in the other. *Tranſ.*

contented with our form of government, and are desirous of setting it in an unfavourable light. But if we can boast of no Platonic republics, or Utopian monarchies realized; whoever is sufficiently acquainted with the nature of human affairs to know how good and evil compensate each other; whoever is sensible how much a considerable advantage counterbalances disadvantages, and is naturally connected with those evils; in short, whoever has learned that a state of suffering is the *most* which mortals can propose to themselves, however *hope*, by a wise disposition of nature, can reconcile us to futurity, he must, upon a rational consideration of what we possess, and can dispense with, allow that we must be contented with our lot. We shall then cease to cite the division of the German states into so many small principalities, as a proof of their not being able to attain interior strength and prosperity, nor the weight and consequence among the European powers to which another constitution might entitle them.

Leaving

Leaving this cenſure in its full force, I think we may, with good grounds, value the advantages of our conſtitution far above its full effects, or rather reckon ourſelves in debt to the latter for theſe advantages.

We muſt, if we compare the ſituation of Germany with other nations, conſider that the general proſperity of moſt of the provinces ſhould, in a monarchical or republican form of government, be much limited. We muſt alſo confeſs, that a chain of former circumſtances, for which our preſent condition is by no means to be accountable, ſhould have left us, in point of civilization, far behind the ſouthern and weſtern parts of Europe; and principally the long and bloody conteſt which our anceſtors maintained againſt the deſpotic enterpriſes of Charles V. and Ferdinand II. which might have kept back the German Empire, exhauſted to the utmoſt degree, for more than a century. But where is an European country, every phyſical cauſe

considered, and subtracting all the advantages of an earlier cultivation, that can be compared with our Empire upon the whole, in point of population, in agriculture, and taking advantage of all the gifts of nature, in the number, not of great and rich, but of middling, civilized, and industrious cities? In most other countries little gradation is perceptible between immoderate riches and oppressive poverty, the extremes of luxury and misery, and the excess of refinement or of barbarism. The number of these gradations, on the contrary, of single men and families, who, comparatively speaking, are in an easy situation, and the resources which the inhabitants of the German Empire possess of making their fortune by means of talent, science, or useful occupation; or at least of gaining a subsistence which can satisfy rational desires, are infinitely greater than in any other country. If this moderation, which prejudice rather than reason often reproaches us with, confines us within narrow limits in some arts, particularly those of taste and refined luxury, which

which can only take place in an immenſe capital where national wealth centres; yet, on the contrary, to this admirable medium we owe advantages infinitely more precious; greater purity of manners; and, by the multitude of well-regulated inſtitutions for education, ſchools, and ſeminaries, which are conſpicuous in Germany above all other countries, a much greater number of people in proportion are able to diſtinguiſh themſelves by a general diffuſion of knowledge and cultivation.

It muſt appear ſelf-evident to every perſon that theſe advantages are the natural conſequences of the ſubdiviſion and various organization of the different ſtates of Germany.

It is true this organization of the Germanic body gives it a certain tardineſs in its movements, which, in many particulars, is to its diſadvantage. From this reaſon it cannot interfere ſo eaſily in the tranſactions of other powers, make conqueſts, or even defend it-

itſelf from exterior attacks ſo readily as under another conſtitution. But in return, its exterior ſtrength is ſecured; and alſo this inactivity, by which the different ſtates depend upon their common chief, unites them, it is hoped, the cloſer under ſo wiſe and active an Emperor as Leopold II. and our exterior ſecurity is infinitely favourable to the uninterrupted progreſs of our welfare and improvement. Fortunately the French revolution has ſecured us for ſome centuries, in a quarter which was hitherto moſt dangerous—we have no more a Louis XIV. to apprehend; the French nation, in their new conſtitution, can only be improved by the perpetual peace which they have held out to the world; and which, in my opinion, ſhould render the 14th of July, or rather the 14th of September, a feſtival with all patriotic Germans *. If any thing can diſturb our conſti-

* The world has ſince received but too convincing proofs how much the author has been deceived in his conjectures. All the boaſted victories of Louis XIV. during half a century were infinitely leſs deſtructive to the German liberties than the progreſs of the French republicans during the preſent war, in a very ſhort period. *Tranſ.*

tution,

tution, and deprive us of the bleſſings of a perpetual peace, it muſt ariſe from ourſelves. But in this particular we can the more eaſily enſure its preſent and future ſafety, ſince there are great powers in Europe whoſe intereſt it is to ſuffer no other to aggrandize itſelf at the expenſe of the German Empire.

Nevertheleſs, it cannot be denied that the advantages which accompany our conſtitution, and our diviſion into ſmall ſtates, are attended, particularly the latter, beſides the inconveniences before mentioned, with another evil, by which the diſcordance of the different parts would gradually tend towards the diſſolution of the whole, if the contrary cauſes had not delayed this decay.

This evil, which is leaſt conſidered by thoſe who are moſt intereſted in it, is the great want of national ſpirit, which is viſibly diſplayed among all people who are placed under one form of government, whether monarchical or republican,

republican, who have common interefts, and are united under one head. The reproaches which foreigners make us upon this fubject are but too well grounded. Whoever travels through the Empire finds, indeed, Auftrians, Pruffians, Saxons, Palatines, Bavarians, Wirtembergers, &c. with fome hundreds of lefs important appellations, but no GERMAN; and he in vain looks for that GERMANY of which the Emperor is fovereign. Each of thefe particular ftates has its peculiar interefts unconnected with the reft. It is not then furprifing, if indifference towards univerfal national interefts, towards whatever could promote univerfal profperity, fhould ftrike the ftranger as a characteriftic of the Germans, and make us lofe infinitely in his opinion the value which, did we properly refpect ourfelves, would make us furpafs any nation in the univerfe!

This is not, however, the proper place to examine how far the immediate ftates of the Empire, as the conftitutional reprefentatives of the

the nation, have in their hands the power to remedy thoſe abuſes. But when, as I think, we conſider ſeveral national inſtitutions which could be employed with advantage towards this ſalutary purpoſe, this mean, which alone the union of the entire nation is requiſite to produce, will be perceived to increaſe daily in its progreſs. That its force and its effect is purely moral, diminiſhes its influence the leſs while it affects the head and heart, and attains its ends ſlower and more imperceptibly, but with greater certainty, ſtrength, and durability.

What then is this mean? It is, in a word, the influence of writers who, by their genius, energy of mind, eloquence, and repreſentation of things, can make a lively impreſſion upon the imagination of mankind. They are, in a manner, *the men of Germany*; they are univerſally read, their writings penetrate even to the ſmalleſt towns, and light already begins to appear in places which twenty-five years ago lay in the utmoſt darkneſs. If theſe are animated

mated by a genuine patriotiſm, if they are led by an enlightened valuation of the advantages of our conſtitution, and glow with a pure ardour for the common good, it is moſt certain that their continued efforts muſt ſucceed in kindling the holy flame of love for their country in every German heart, and awake this common ſentiment, which alone is capable of uniting in one body the Empire now divided by ſo many names, dialects, manners of living, and political conſtitutions, and to inſpire this contradictory ſyſtem with ſentiments worthy of a great, noble, brave, and enlightened people.

To attain this end, if I am not much miſtaken, nothing can be more effectual than the edification produced by our national hiſtory, of which I have already ſpoken. Materials are as little wanting from German virtues, ſince the earlieſt ages, as from any other people: and it is now time to turn this treaſure to a proper advantage.

Under

Under this view the dramatic form is the beſt, perhaps, with which ſuch hiſtoric ſcenes of our literature can be enriched. What a noble gallery might be formed from the pictures which our hiſtory produces ſince the time of Charlemagne, if treated by a maſterly hand!

The famous Marlborough was not aſhamed to confeſs that he had derived all his knowledge of the Britiſh hiſtory from Shakeſpeare's plays. A ſimilar acknowledgment might be made towards our hiſtory without offending the precious works of our diplomatic, critical, and ſyſtematic hiſtorical writers. The former could ſuit every claſs and degree of readers, and equally produce the abolition of old prejudices, deſtroy the remains of an unfortunate party ſpirit, promote evident views of the nature of our conſtitution, and of its influence upon the character and circumſtances of the times; and while they inſpire us with a lively participation of the moſt famous epochas, the moſt celebrated characters, and the moſt important events of the nation,

how

how can they fail in the noble purpoſe of promoting an univerſal patriotiſm, which feels for the fame or the ignominy, the proſperity or the adverſity of the nation, and which is concerned in the laudable preſervation and improvement of our fortunate conſtitution!

Finding myſelf, at the concluſion of this ſubject, at the place of my commencement, nothing remains but to accompany my excellent friend in his hiſtoric career with my beſt and warmeſt wiſhes.

WIELAND.

WEIMAR,
October 10*th*, 1791.

HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR.

BOOK I.

SINCE the commencement of the religious diſputes in Germany, there was ſcarcely any event of importance in which the Reformation had not the principal ſhare. Every circumſtance during this period, if not immediately ariſing from the Reformation, is more or leſs connected with it; and all ſtates, of whatever limits or importance, have more or leſs experienced its influence.

The Houſe of Auſtria levelled almoſt the entire force of its political ſtrength againſt the new doctrines and their adherents. The Reformation had kindled the flames of civil war in France, and, during four boiſterous adminiſtrations, reduced that kingdom to the laſt extremity, in-

 troduced

troduced foreign troops, and rendered it, during half a century, a ſcene of the moſt melancholy devaſtation. It was the Reformation which rendered the Spaniſh yoke inſupportable in the Netherlands, excited among that people the courage to aſſert their independence, and principally afforded them ſtrength for that undertaking. All the deſigns of Philip II. againſt Elizabeth queen of England aroſe from his deſire of revenge againſt her for having taken under her protection his Proteſtant ſubjects, and put herſelf at the head of a religious party which he laboured to annihilate. The diviſion of the church in Germany was ſucceeded by a laſting political one, which rendered the Empire a ſcene of the greateſt confuſion for more than a century, but which alſo erected an effectual barrier to oppreſſion. It was the Reformation which firſt drew the northern powers, Sweden and Denmark, into the political ſyſtem of Europe; the aſſiſtance of thoſe two kingdoms having become indiſpenſably neceſſary to the Proteſtant powers. States which hitherto were ſcarcely known, began, by means of the Reformation, to unite themſelves by a ſympathy in politics: and according as citizens among themſelves, and princes among their ſubjects, began to aſſume the appearance of oppoſition, entire kingdoms

were

were oppofed to each other in fituations hitherto unknown to them; and thus, by the extraordinary nature of circumftances, the union of ftates was produced by their religious diffenfions.

The confequences of thofe diffenfions were deftructive and dreadful before this univerfal political fympathy was effected. A thirty years war, which from the interior of Bohemia to the mouth of the Scheld, from the banks of the Po to the coafts of the Baltic, defolated countries, deftroyed the harvefts, and laid towns and villages in afhes: a war in which above three hundred thoufand combatants facrificed their lives, extinguifhed during half a century the rifing progrefs of civilization in Germany, and reduced the improving manners of the people to their ancient barbarifm.

Europe found itfelf, however, at the conclufion of this war, free and independent, after having for the firft time erected a balance of power; and that admirable inftitution, which is certainly owing to this war, may ferve with the philanthropift as a fufficient atonement for the miferies which it occafioned. The hand of induftry has gradually effaced its ravages,

while its benign influence ftill furvives; and the war which arofe from the troubles of Bohemia, terminated in a peace which is ftill guaranteed by the balance of power that it produced: and thus, while the flames of devaftation from the interior of Bohemia, Moravia, and Auftria, found means to extend themfelves to Germany and France, the influence of the civilization of the latter countries has been extended to other nations.

Religion was the original caufe of thofe events; the poffibility of circumftances was owing to it alone: but it was by no means the *fole* motive of the war. Had not private interefts and ftate prejudices been clofely connected with it, neither the arguments of theologians, the voice of the people, nor the Proteftant doctrines, could ever have found fuch numerous and obftinate champions. The Reformation was doubtlefs occafioned by the invincible force of truth, and by opinions held for fuch. The abufes of the old church, the diffolute lives of many of its clergy, and the rapacity of its pretenfions, muft naturally have excited a difguft which tended to render a reformation in religion highly popular. The pleafures of independence, the riches of ecclefiaftical inftitutions,

tions, gave charms to a reformation in the eyes of princes, which heightened their inward conviction of its other benefits. But political considerations alone were sufficient to compel them to espouse it. Had not Charles V. in the intoxication of success, made an attempt on the independence of the German princes, a Protestant league would have with difficulty taken up arms in defence of the faith; without the ambition of the Guises, the Calvinists of France could never have found at their head a Condé or a Coligny; without the imposition of the tenth or twentieth penny, never had the see of Rome lost the United Netherlands. Princes contended for self-defence or aggrandizement, while enthusiasm recruited their armies, and opened to them the treasures of their subjects; such as did not follow their standards from mercenary motives, imagined that they shed their blood for their religion, though it was in reality for the interest of their princes.

It was happy for the people, that upon this occasion their interests were united with those of their rulers; to this circumstance alone they were indebted for their deliverance from popery. It was also a fortunate circumstance for princes, that the subject, while combating for their in-

 terests,

tereſts, alſo promoted his own. During that age no ſovereign in Europe reigned with a power ſo abſolute as to enable him to contradict the opinion of his ſubjects in the purſuit of his intereſts, and it was extremely difficult to gain their affections. The moſt effectual reaſons of ſtate have little effect upon the minds of the vulgar, who ſeldom underſtand, and are ſtill more rarely intereſted in them; in ſuch circumſtances a prudent prince can only unite the intereſt of the cabinet with that of his ſubjects, or at leaſt colour it with that pretext.

Such, however, were the circumſtances in which the princes concerned in the Reformation found themſelves. By a peculiar chain of events, the diviſion of the church was united with two circumſtances, without which the concluſion would have been wholly different; the increaſe of power of the Houſe of Auſtria, and its active zeal for the old religion. The one arouſed the princes, and the other armed the people.

The abolition of a foreign tribunal in their own territories, the ſupreme power in eccleſiaſtical matters, the abolition of ſending money to Rome, and the ample treaſures of the church,

afforded tempting advantages to every ſovereign; and it appears at firſt view ſtrange why they were not equally ſo to the princes of the Houſe of Auſtria. What ſhould have prevented that Houſe, particularly its German line, from liſtening to the voice of a number of its ſubjects, and aggrandizing itſelf, after the example of others, at the expenſe of a defenceleſs clergy? It is difficult to imagine that the conviction of the infallibility of the church of Rome had a greater effect in producing the ſteady perſeverance of this Houſe, than the oppoſite perſuaſion had upon the Proteſtant princes. But ſeveral circumſtances combined to incline the Houſe of Auſtria to ſupport popery; Spain and Italy, from whence the power of Auſtria derived its principal ſupport, yielded to Rome that blind obedience which had diſtinguiſhed the Spaniards ſince the Gothic ages. The ſmalleſt inclination to the obnoxious tenets of Luther and Calvin would have irrecoverably loſt to the government of Spain the attachment of its ſubjects. A Spaniſh king had no alternative between abdication and orthodoxy. He laboured under ſimilar difficulties in his Italian dominions, where he was obliged to treat his ſubjects with ſtill greater indulgence, as they were not only more impatient of a foreign yoke, but

alſo poſſeſſed eaſier means of throwing it off. To this were added the claims of France on thoſe countries, and the near reſidence of the Pope; motives ſufficient to prevent him from declaring himſelf for a party which profeſſed the annihilation of popery, and which bound him to exert himſelf with the moſt active zeal for the old religion. Theſe general views by which the Spaniſh monarchy was influenced, were ſtill further ſtrengthened by particular ones. Charles V. had in Italy a dangerous rival in the king of France, when that country threw itſelf under the latter's protection, while Charles had rendered himſelf ſuſpected of hereſy. From ſimilar circumſtances a rupture with the church would now be entirely diſadvantageous. When Charles had his choice of either religion, the new as yet had not acquired ſuch great influence, and there was ſtill a proſpect of its reconciliation with the old. During the adminiſtration of his ſon and ſucceſſor, Philip II. a monaſtic education united with a gloomy deſpotic diſpoſition to render that prince a determined enemy of all innovations in the faith; prejudices which the circumſtances of his moſt formidable political enemy, being alſo the enemy of his religion, were not calculated to weaken; as his widely ſpread European terri-

tories

tories lay open to the influence of foreign opinions, the progreſs of the Reformation would not be an object of indifference to him; and his immediate intereſts required a cloſe attachment to the old faith, in order to check the new hereſy. Affairs naturally placed this prince at the head of the league which the Catholics formed againſt the adherents of the new doctrines. The maxims which were adopted during the active reigns of Charles V. and Philip II. remained in force during that of their ſucceſſors; and in proportion as the diviſion of the church augmented, the attachment of Spain was increaſed for the old religion.

The German line of the Houſe of Auſtria appeared to be more free; but though many of thoſe obſtacles were removed, it was ſtill bound by others. The poſſeſſion of the Imperial throne by a heretic was impoſſible, (for how could an apoſtate from the church poſſeſs that dignity?) and bound the ſucceſſors of Ferdinand I. to popery. Ferdinand himſelf was conſcientiouſly attached to the church; the German princes of the Houſe of Auſtria were beſides not ſufficiently powerful to diſpenſe with the aſſiſtance of Spain, from all hope of which they excluded themſelves by favouring the new doctrines:

doctrines: besides, their dignity required them to maintain the political system of the Empire, that confirmed their own power, which the Protestants endeavoured to abridge. If, besides, we consider the coldness of the Protestants towards the wants of the Emperor, and towards the common dangers of the Empire, their exorbitant usurpations on the temporalities of the church, and their violence when they felt their own strength, we can easily perceive the grounds upon which the Emperor was attached to popery, and the motives on which he united his own interests with those of the Catholic religion. As the fate of this religion was determined perhaps by the division of Austria, all Europe regarded the princes of that House as the pillars of popery; the hatred of the Protestants against the latter was universally turned to Austria, and the cause was gradually confounded with the protector. Every warlike preparation of Spain or the Emperor was for the destruction of the Protestants; every campaign against these two powers was a war against monkery and the inquisition.

But by this very House of Austria, the inveterate enemy of the Reformation, were the liberties of Europe exposed to no small danger by its

its ambitious projects, particularly the German ſtates. The latter muſt by this have been arouſed from their ſecurity, and rendered attentive to their ſelf-defence; their ordinary reſources would never have enabled them to reſiſt ſo formidable a power; extraordinary exertions muſt be required from their ſubjects; and even thoſe not being ſufficient, they were conſtrained to have recourſe to foreign powers, and, by a confederacy among themſelves, oppoſe a power which they were ſingly unable to reſiſt.

But the ſtrongeſt political conſiderations which the ſovereigns had to oppoſe to the pretenſions of Auſtria were not extended to the people; the people are animated only by immediate advantages or immediate evils, and a ſound policy can never reckon upon theſe. It would alſo have been ill with thoſe princes, if another powerful motive had not offered itſelf, which excited the paſſions of the people, and inſpired them with an enthuſiaſm which directed itſelf againſt their political danger connected with it. This motive was the declared hatred againſt the religion which Auſtria protected, and the enthuſiaſtic admiration of a doctrine which that Houſe by fire and ſword endeavoured to extirpate. This attachment was ardent,

that

that hatred invincible. Enthusiasm fears distant calamities, and fanaticism never calculates its sacrifices; the most pressing dangers of the state were not so powerful in exciting the people to action as religious prejudices: few would have voluntarily taken up arms for the interests of the prince or the state; but for religion, the merchant, the farmer, the artisan, readily armed themselves: while they would have murmured against the smallest extraordinary impositions for the prince or the state, they readily embarked their lives and fortunes in the cause of religion. The treasures and armies of princes were immensely augmented; and in the ferment excited by the dangers to which religion was exposed, no burden was felt by the subject, who in cooler moments would have sunk under its weight. The terrors of the Spanish inquisition and of Bartholomew's night, procured for the Prince of Orange, the Admiral Coligny, the British Queen Elizabeth, and the Protestant Princes of Germany, resources among their subjects which are inconceivable.

With all possible exertions they would, however, have effected little against a power which was alone an overmatch for the most powerful prince. At that period an imperfect policy only

only induced diſtant ſtates to their mutual ſuccour; the diverſity of government, laws, language, manners, and national character, which divided the one nation from the other, rendered them inſenſible to their mutual diſtreſſes when they were not excited by a proſpect of indemnification at the expenſe of their enemy; the Reformation heightened their bond of union; a more lively intereſt than national prejudices or patriotiſm appeared, independently of individual intereſts, to actuate the people. Theſe intereſts were capable of binding the moſt diſtant ſtates, though they ſometimes loſt their force among the ſubjects of the ſame country. The French Calviniſt poſſeſſed with the reformed inhabitant of Geneva, of England, Germany, or Holland, a rallying point which he had not with his own Catholic fellow-citizen. The good fortune of the Flemiſh arms, borne for liberty, afforded them greater pleaſure than the triumph of their own ſovereign in the cauſe of popery. In conſequence, the citizen ceaſed in a very important particular to confine his views entirely to his own country; his views were extended, and from the deſtiny in foreign regions of his religion he began to calculate his own. At this period, for the firſt time, princes were enabled to bring foreign politics before their aſſembly

affembly of ftates, and hope for a fpeedy affift-ance. The Palatine relinquifhes his native country to affift his French religious affociate; the French fubject draws his fword againft his country, and flies to the affiftance of Holland's freedom; Swifs is now feen againft Swifs, German againft German; and the fucceffion of France is decided on the banks of the Seine and Loire; the Dane croffes the Eidu, the Swede the Baltic, to break the chains which were forged for Germany.

The interefts of religion firft introduced this fympathy among ftates, but their effects were fpeedily converted to politics; the union which fecured them againft religious, alfo fecured them againft political oppreffion; the princes poffeffed refources for their felf-defence by thefe means, even independent of the people. While an armed power defended toleration in Germany, a German Emperor could not infringe the conftitution, nor opprefs the ftates of the Empire: while the fame power protected the conftitution, toleration remained unmolefted. The views of the fubject coincided with thofe of the people under thofe circumftances.

It

It is difficult to ſay what the fate of the Reformation and of Germany would have been, had not the formidable power of Auſtria declared againſt them. It appears however certain, that nothing prevented the Auſtrian princes from attaining univerſal monarchy ſo much as the obſtinate war which they waged with the new religious doctrines. Under no other circumſtances could the weaker princes excite their ſubjects to ſuch efforts to withſtand the Auſtrian power, or the ſtates unite among themſelves.

The Auſtrian power was never greater than after the victory which Charles V. obtained over the Germans at Muehlberg. By the treaty of Smalkalde the German liberties appeared ruined; but they revived in Maurice of Saxony, their once dangerous enemy. All the fruits of the victory at Muehlberg terminated in the congreſs at Paſſau and the aſſembly of Augſburg; and every ſcheme for religious and civil oppreſſion ended in a favourable peace.

Germany, by the aſſembly of Augſburg, was divided into two civil and religious parties: until then the Proteſtants were regarded as criminal deſerters, but now they were treated

as

as brothers, though more from fear than affection. The confeffion of Augfburg was now permitted to rival the Catholic religion, but ftill only as a tolerated neighbour; each ftate had the privilege of eftablifhing any religion, to the exclufion of every other in its territories; every fubject was permitted to leave a territory where his religion was not tolerated. From this period the doctrines of Luther received a pofitive fanction, and, though prohibited in Auftria and Bavaria, they triumphed in Saxony and Thuringia. The fovereigns alone poffeffed the choice of a religion; no provifion was made for the fubject, who in this diet had no reprefentative; in ecclefiaftical territories alone the Catholic and the Proteftant fubject was allowed the free exercife of his religion; yet this indulgence was only upon the perfonal affurance of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, who effected this peace; an affurance which, however, the Catholic powers formally contradicted in the treaty, and which, of courfe, was not fanctioned as a law.

Did their divifions exift only in opinion, they would be regarded with indifference; but on thofe opinions depended riches, rank, and rights, a circumftance which rendered the breach

breach irreparable; brothers who had hitherto lived in amity, now divided the paternal houſe; the father could not have provided for this unforeſeen ſeparation. From the benevolence of their anceſtors, the riches of the church had been augmented during a thouſand years, and anceſtors belonged to the dead as well as the living. Was the right of inheritance attached to the paternal houſe, or to blood? The Catholic church awarded it to the firſt-born, becauſe then the only ſon. But it might be queſtioned whether the Catholic church could eſtabliſh the right of primogeniture as among noble families, or whether one party was to be favoured becauſe no other was as yet oppoſed to it? It might alſo be queſtioned whether the Catholics were entitled to exclude the Proteſtants from the enjoyment of poſſeſſions, becauſe the latter did not exiſt at their inſtitution? Both parties have long diſputed, and ſtill diſpute, upon theſe ſubjects with plauſible arguments; both have found it equally difficult to eſtabliſh the juſtice of their cauſe upon rational grounds; and to thoſe religious foundations do not perhaps belong, eſpecially, ſuch as are dogmatically grounded: a perpetual gift can ſcarce be made by a changeable opinion.

What cannot be decided by equity, is decided by ſtrength, as was the caſe in the preſent inſtance; the one part maintained what it could not be deprived of, the other defended what remained to it; all the biſhoprics and abbies which had been ſecularized previous to the peace remained with the Proteſtants, but the Catholics provided againſt any being afterwards ſecularized. Every poſſeſſor of an eccleſiaſtical foundation which was ſubject to the Catholics, forfeited his benefice and dignity upon his embracing the Proteſtant faith; he was immediately upon that event obliged to abandon his poſſeſſions, and the chapter proceeded to a new election, as if he had vacated by death. The Catholic church in Germany is ſtill faſtened to this ſacred anchor of ſpiritual reſerve, which makes the temporal exiſtence of a Catholic prince depend entirely on his adherence to his religion; and it muſt be acknowledged that, without this anchor, the ſtate of that religion would be very precarious. The eccleſiaſtical reſerve met with a violent oppoſition from the Proteſtants; and though inſerted in the treaty of peace, it was expreſsly mentioned that both parties had not ſettled on this point. Did it bind the Proteſtants more than the aſſurance of Ferdinand to tolerate the reformed religion,

ligion, did the Catholics? Thus two radical points of the treaty remained undecided, and by this means the war was renewed.

Such was the ſtate of toleration and of eccleſiaſtical benefices; it was the ſame with rights and dignities. The government of the Empire accounted only for one religion, becauſe one only had originally exiſted: the church had divided and the diet ſeparated into two parties, and yet the ſame government would acknowledge but one religion. All the Emperors were hitherto of the Romiſh church, becauſe no other religion had exiſted; but did the connexion with Rome depend upon the Emperor, or the Empire, which he repreſented? The Proteſtant party alſo belonged to the Empire, and how could they be properly repreſented by a ſucceſſion of Catholic Emperors? The ſupreme tribunal was compoſed of the German ſtates, who were their own judges; and its inſtitution required it to diſpenſe equal juſtice to all: could this inſtitution be maintained if both parties were not admitted to ſhare in it? That the Catholic religion alone exiſted at the period of this inſtitution, was merely accidental. To prevent any one eſtate from oppreſſing another was the original deſign of it;

 but

but this defign is violated when one religious party is fuffered to prefcribe laws for the other. Muft the original intention be abandoned becaufe accident had changed circumftances? Finally, with great difficulty the Proteftants procured a feat in the fupreme council, but ftill could not obtain an equal number of voices. No Proteftant prince has hitherto mounted the Imperial throne.

With regard to the equality which fhould have been inftituted at the peace of Augfburg between both religions, the Catholic ftill maintained the advantage; all the Lutherans obtained was toleration; the Catholics even made this facrifice more from neceffity than juftice; there was as yet no peace between two equal powers, only a truce between the fovereign and unconquered rebels; and this opinion feemed to regulate the proceedings of the Catholics againft the Proteftants. It was ftill a great crime to go over to the Proteftant religion, while fo great a forfeiture was impofed by the fpiritual referve upon fuch Catholic princes as abandoned their faith. Even in fucceeding periods the Catholic church preferred rifking the lofs of every thing by force rather than yield the fmalleft matter voluntarily to juftice; there

there was yet a hope of regaining their former authority, and its loſs was ſtill regarded as accidental. But an abandoned pretenſion, a right formerly yielded to the Proteſtants, wounded the Catholic church in its moſt tender point, its infallibility, which ſuffers no other religion. Even the religious peace did not aboliſh theſe ſentiments; conceſſions were not upon that occaſion made unconditionally to the Proteſtants; affairs were only to remain as they were until the next general council, which was to be employed in effecting a reconciliation between both religions. It was only in caſe this laſt deſign did not ſucceed, that the religious treaty was to be conſidered as valid; and notwithſtanding the improbability of ſuch a reconciliation, which the Catholics themſelves could ſcarcely hope for, they looked upon it as an advantage to have thrown obſtacles in the way of this peace.

Thus the religious peace, which ſhould have extinguiſhed the flame of civil war, was only a temporary truce, a work of force and neceſſity, dictated neither by juſt ideas of religion or toleration. A peace of the latter ſort the Catholics were unable to grant, and it muſt alſo be confeſſed it was ſuch a one as the Proteſtants

teſtants did not yet fully comprehend. So far from diſplaying any moderation to the Catholics, they even oppreſſed the Calviniſts when in their power; but the latter ſcarce merited a tolerance which they were not themſelves diſpoſed to practiſe. Matters were not as yet prepared for a complete religious peace. Was it poſſible to require from others what they could not ſuffer themſelves to grant? What either party loſt or gained by the treaty of Augſburg, they might aſcribe to force, and the accidental ſituation in which both ſtood at its concluſion. What was obtained by force muſt be maintained by it. In order to preſerve the peace, the ſtrength of both parties muſt have remained unimpaired. With ſword in hand the boundaries of both churches were traced, and with that weapon they muſt be guarded, or unfortunate it was for the party ſooneſt diſarmed; a doubtful, melancholy proſpect for the tranquillity of Germany, which the peace itſelf endangered!

A momentary tranquillity now took place in this Empire, and a temporary concord ſeemed to heal its diviſions and reſtore the public good. But thoſe diviſions were radical, and to reſtore the original harmony was almoſt impoſſible. Notwithſtanding the exactneſs with which the peace

peace defined the boundaries of both parties, pretexts were not wanting to evade them. In the midſt of hoſtilities a ſudden ceſſation of arms had covered the flames of war, but not extinguiſhed them; and both parties ſtill maintained their pretenſions. The Catholics imagined they had loſt too much, the Proteſtants thought they had gained too little; and both endeavoured to put a conſtruction on the peace calculated to favour their reſpective prejudices.

The ſeizure of the eccleſiaſtical benefices, the mighty motive which induced the Proteſtant princes to embrace Luther's doctrines, was equally ſtrong after the peace as it had been previous to it, and ſuch as was not already in their poſſeſſion muſt ſpeedily yield to them. All the north of Germany was already ſecularized; and the violent reſiſtance of the Catholics, who retained the advantage in Upper Germany, alone prevented that part of the Empire from following its example. Each party exerciſed oppreſſion where it prevailed; the eccleſiaſtical princes eſpecially, the moſt defenceleſs part of the Empire, were particularly anxious concerning the aggrandizement of their Proteſtant neighbours; ſuch as were too weak to repel force by force, had recourſe to juſtice; and

and the complaints made againſt the rapacity of the Proteſtants were numerous before the council of the Empire, which was very liberal in its decrees againſt them, but which not being enforced, were of no avail. The peace, which yielded religious toleration, had provided for the ſubject by leaving him in quiet poſſeſſion of the country in which he profeſſed his religion. But for the violence which the prince exerciſed againſt any of his obnoxious ſubjects, for the numerous vexations which were practiſed upon ſuch as deſired to emigrate, for ſnares artfully laid, in which malice was combined with power, the dead letter of this peace afforded no effectual remedy.

The Catholic ſubjects of Proteſtant princes complained loudly of violations of the religious peace; the Proteſtants were ſtill louder in exclaiming againſt the oppreſſions to which they were expoſed under their Catholic ſuperiors. Every incident was embittered by the diſputes and animoſities of theologians, which of however little conſequence in themſelves, yet ſerved to inflame the minds of the people. It would have been fortunate had they confined their mutual rage among themſelves, without communicating it to their fellow-citizens.

The

The unanimity of the Proteſtants would have been the means of preſerving an equal balance between both parties, and thereby prolonging the peace; but, to increaſe the general confuſion, their union was but of ſhort duration. The doctrines preached by Zwingle in Zurich, and Calvin in Geneva, began to ſpread with rapidity in Germany, and to divide the Proteſtants into two parties, and they ſoon were to be recognized by no other ſimilitude than their mutual hatred againſt popery. The Proteſtants of this period no longer reſembled thoſe who fifty years before had eſtabliſhed their confeſſion; and the cauſe of this circumſtance is owing to that confeſſion itſelf. By confining the Proteſtant faith within certain limits before the general ſpirit of inquiry had ſatiated itſelf, it deprived the Proteſtants of many of the advantages which they promiſed themſelves by renouncing popery. Complaints againſt the Romiſh hierarchy and the abuſes of that church, a rooted diſapprobation of its doctrines, might have been ſufficient to have afforded a point of union to the Proteſtants; but they ſought this rallying point in a creed entirely new, in which they concentred the diſtinctions, the advantages, and the exiſtence of their church, and to this transferred the convention which they

they had formed with the Catholics. They were interefted in the peace merely as partifans of the confeffion; all the benefits of the peace were fhared by the immediate followers of that confeffion: but whatever might be the event, it muft be equally to the difadvantage of thofe followers. Were the ftatutes of the confeffion rigidly adhered to, the fpirit of inquiry was effectually fuppreffed, and the rallying point was loft if they fhould difpute concerning formalities. Unfortunately, both thofe events took place, and their evil confequences became manifeft; one party ftedfaftly adhered to the original confeffion; and if the Calvinifts abandoned it, it was only to confine themfelves with equal rigidnefs to a new religious fyftem.

A more plaufible pretext the Proteftants could not have afforded their common enemy, than this difunion among themfelves; nor could they have exhibited to them a more pleafing fpectacle than the animofity with which they alternately perfecuted each other. Who could condemn the Catholics for throwing a ridicule upon the effrontery with which the Reformers propagated the new religion, when Proteftants turned their own weapons againft each other? nor can they be reafonably con-

demned

demned if, amid this contradiction of opinions, they stedfastly adhered to the authority of their church, which was sanctioned by superior antiquity, and more generally diffused.

By those divisions the Protestants were brought into entire confusion. The peace was properly extended only to the adherents of the confession, and the Catholics now demanded from them a declaration concerning the sentiments of the other Protestants. The Lutherans could not admit those of the reformed religion into their communion without offending their conscience; they could not exclude them from it without converting a useful ally into a dangerous enemy. By their unfortunate division the intrigues of the Jesuits were enabled to create jealousies between both parties, and disturb their measures. Through the double dread of the Catholics and their own Protestant opponents, the Protestants lost irrecoverably the opportunity of establishing their own church upon an equal footing with the Catholic. All those difficulties would have been avoided, and they might with safety have separated from the church of Rome, had they placed their rallying point at a greater distance from popery, and not in the confession of Augsburg.

But

But however divided they were in other matters, they generally agreed that their ſecurity, which was owing to a juſt balance of power, muſt be maintained by that balance. The continual reforms of the one party, and the oppoſition of the other, rendered both vigilant, and the obſervance of the religious treaty was an object of perpetual diſpute. While the one party defended their own innovations, under pretext of maintaining the treaty, they would admit of no indulgence towards their opponents. All the meaſures of the Catholics had not a tendency to violence, as was alleged by the oppoſite party: many of their actions were committed in ſelf-defence. The Proteſtants had ſhown in a very unequivocal manner what the Catholics had to expect, if they ſhould have the misfortune to become the weaker party. The deſire of the Proteſtants to poſſeſs themſelves of the property of the church left their antagoniſts no hope of indulgence, magnanimity, or toleration.

But the Proteſtants were alſo pardonable in placing no confidence in the Catholics. By the perfidious and barbarous uſage of the Proteſtants in Spain, France, and the Netherlands, by the ſhameful evaſions of the Catholic princes, who

who ſuffered themſelves to be releaſed by the Pope from the moſt ſacred oaths, and by that deteſtable principle, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, the Catholic church had forfeited, in the eyes of all men of probity, every pretenſion to honour. No aſſurance, no oath, however ſacred, from a Papiſt, could ſatisfy a Proteſtant. How muſt a religious treaty be regarded, which the Jeſuits throughout Germany repreſented as only a temporary convenience, which in Rome was ſolemnly reprobated? The general council, referred to at the treaty, had already been held in Trent, but, as was expected, without having effected a reconciliation between the hoſtile religions; and without having taken more than one ſtep to this purpoſe, which was oppoſed by the Proteſtants. Theſe were now ſolemnly excommunicated by the church, whoſe repreſentatives the council pretended to be. Could then a profane treaty, obtained by force of arms, ſecure them? a treaty which depended upon a condition that directly oppoſed the deciſions of the council. Thus a pretext was not wanting for the Catholics to infringe the treaty, did they poſſeſs ſufficient power. Henceforward alſo the Proteſtants were protected only by a dread of their ſtrength.

 Other

Other circumſtances combined to increaſe their diſtruſt. Spain, on which the Catholics of Germany depended for ſupport, was engaged in a bloody war with the Flemings, which had drawn the flower of the Spaniſh troops to the borders of the Empire. This army could, in a ſhort time, enter the Empire to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow. Germany at that period was a warlike magazine for all the powers of Europe. The religious war had filled it with ſoldiers, who, in peace-time, were without occupation. So many independent princes could eaſily aſſemble armies, and, either from a deſire of gain or ſpirit of party, hire them to foreign powers. It was with German troops Philip II. waged war againſt the Flemings, and with troops of the ſame nation that the latter defended themſelves. Every ſuch levy in Germany was a matter of alarm to the one party or the other; as they might be deſtined for the oppreſſion of either. A travelling ambaſſador, an extraordinary popiſh legate, an interview of princes, an unuſual incident, ſeemed to announce the ruin of one party or the other. Such was the ſituation of Germany during a period of near fifty years: the hand was laid upon the ſword, and the ſlighteſt circumſtance gave the alarm.

The

The reins of government during this memorable period were held by Ferdinand I. King of Hungary, and his excellent ſon Maximilian II. With a heart full of candour, with a truly heroic patience, had Ferdinand effected the religious treaty of Augſburg, and beſtowed infinite pains upon the ungrateful taſk of reconciling both religions in the council of Trent. Abandoned by his nephew Philip of Spain, and at the ſame time preſſed by the victorious arms of the Turks in Tranſylvania, it could not be expected he entertained any idea of infringing the treaty, and deſtroying the fruits of his own labours. The great expenſes of a Turkiſh war, perpetually renewed, could not be ſuſtained by the ſparing ſupplies of his exhauſted hereditary dominions. He therefore ſtood in want of the aſſiſtance of the Empire; and the religious treaty alone ſtill maintained the Empire in one body. His neceſſities rendered the Proteſtant as neceſſary to him as the Catholic, and required him to treat both with equal juſtice, which, amid ſo many contradictory claims, was a coloſſal undertaking. The event was alſo far from anſwering his expectations. His indulgence to the Proteſtants only ſerved to end the war with his grandſon, which his death ſaved him the mortification of beholding. His ſon Maximilian

was

was not more fortunate, whom the circumſtances of the times, and a longer life, perhaps, prevented from eſtabliſhing the new religion upon the Imperial throne. The father experienced the neceſſity of indulgence to the Proteſtants: neceſſity and moderation dictated the ſame to the ſon. The grandſon had cauſe to repent for having yielded to neither of thoſe conſiderations.

Maximilian left ſix ſons, of whom the elder, the Archduke Rodolph, inherited his dominions, and aſcended the Imperial throne: the others were provided with moderate incomes. A few territories appertained to the collateral branches of the houſe under Charles of Styria, their uncle: and even theſe were united with the other dominions, under his ſon Ferdinand II. Theſe territories excepted, the whole conſiderable power of the Houſe of Auſtria was united under one head, but unfortunately a weak one.

Rodolph II. was not deſtitute of virtues, which muſt have acquired him the eſteem of mankind, had his lot been a private ſtation. His character was mild, and he loved peace and the ſciences, particularly aſtronomy, natural hiſtory, and the ſtudy of antiquities. To theſe he

he applied himſelf with a vehement zeal, at a period when the critical ſituation of circumſtances demanded the utmoſt vigilance; and while his exhauſted finances required economy, his attention was diverted from ſtate affairs, and he was betrayed into the moſt extravagant profuſion. His taſte for aſtronomy degenerated into aſtrological reveries, as generally happens with timid and melancholy diſpoſitions. This, and a Spaniſh education, rendered him attentive to the advice of the Jeſuits, and the perſuaſions of the Spaniſh court, by which he was at length entirely ruled. Governed by taſtes which little ſuited the dignity of his character, and terrified by ridiculous prophecies, after the Spaniſh cuſtom, he diſſipated his time before his ſubjects, amid gems and antiques, in the laboratory, and in the ſtables. While the Empire fell into the moſt dangerous diviſions, and the flames of rebellion already began to ſhake the throne to its centre, all acceſs to his perſon was ſo forbidden, that it was neceſſary to be diſguiſed as a groom in order to approach him. The moſt important concerns were neglected: the proſpect of inheriting the crown of Spain was loſt by his heſitating to eſpouſe the Infanta Iſabella. The Empire was threatened with the moſt furious

 anarchy,

anarchy, becauſe, though without heirs himſelf, he could not be prevailed upon to elect a king of the Romans. The ſtates of Auſtria renounced their allegiance; Tranſylvania and Hungary declared themſelves independent; an example which was ſoon after followed by Bohemia. The poſterity of the once ſo formidable Charles V. lay in danger of having one part of their dominions wreſted from them by the Turks, another by the Proteſtants, and to ſink under a powerful coalition of princes which a great monarch of Europe had formed againſt them. The events in the interior of Germany were ſuch as uſually occurred when the Imperial throne was either not filled, or filled without dignity. Oppoſed or unſupported by the head of the Empire, its ſtates, united for their mutual defence and confederacies, ſupplied the want of Imperial authority. Germany was divided into two leagues, which were oppoſed to each other in arms: Rodolph, a deſpicable opponent of the one, and an impotent protector of the other, remained inactive between both, equally incapable of defeating the former, or commanding the latter. What could the German Empire expect from a prince who was not even capable of maintaining his hereditary dominions againſt internal enemies?

To

To ſave the Houſe of Auſtria from total deſtruction, this unfortunate Emperor's own family roſe againſt him; and a powerful party was formed under his brother. Driven from his hereditary dominions, nothing remained for him to loſe but the Imperial dignity, and it was only a timely death that ſaved him from this laſt diſgrace.

It was the evil genius of Germany which at this critical conjuncture, when only an active prudence and a more powerful arm could maintain the peace of the Empire, gave it a Rodolph for Emperor. At a more tranquil period the political ſyſtem of Germany would have maintained itſelf, and Rodolph, like ſo many others of his rank, might have concealed his weakneſs in a myſterious obſcurity. Germany required a ſovereign who by his own reſources could give weight to his deciſions; and Rodolph's hereditary dominions, however conſiderable, were now in a ſituation which cauſed the greateſt embarraſſment.

The Auſtrian princes were Catholics, and ſupporters of popery: but their territories were by no means generally attached to that religion. The new doctrines were introduced among them,

them, and having been ſavoured by Ferdinand's neceſſities and Maximilian's moderation, they had made a rapid progreſs. The territories of Auſtria bore a reſemblance in miniature to the Empire at large. The great lords and gentry were moſtly Proteſtants, and the latter were by far the moſt numerous in the cities. When they were able to introduce any of their adherents into the country, all places of truſt, and the magiſtracy, were imperceptibly filled with Proteſtants, and the Catholics excluded from them. To oppoſe the great lords and gentry, together with the city deputies, the voice of a few biſhops was too weak, and, by the contempt and ridicule of the former, prevented them from appearing in the national diet. Thus were the whole of the Auſtrian dominions gradually rendered Proteſtant, and the Reformation made rapid ſtrides to its public eſtabliſhments. The prince was dependant upon the ſtates, who had it in their power to refuſe or grant him ſupplies. They accordingly profited by the neceſſities of Ferdinand and his ſon, to obtain a toleration from them. At length Maximilian granted to the great lords and barons the free exerciſe of their religion, but confined it to their territories and caſtles. To have conceded a ſimilar privilege to the cities and market-towns would have

been

been equivalent to a total abolition of the Catholic religion: and this Emperor was too much controlled by Spain and Rome to venture upon ſo important a ſtep for the benefit of the Proteſtants. By having maintained his authority againſt the lower orders of the Proteſtants, and divided them from the nobility, by preſerving popery unimpaired in the cities and market towns, he hoped to have checked the future encroachments of the nobles. The blind enthuſiaſm of the Proteſtant preachers diſregarded theſe prudent meaſures. Though expreſſly forbidden, ſeveral of them publicly preached not only in market-towns, but even in Vienna, and the people flocked in crowds to hear theſe diſcourſes, which were diſtinguiſhed only by the moſt outrageous inſolence and abuſive language. The lords and barons threw open their churches to the multitude, without attending to the orders of Maximilian, which reſtricted the toleration of religion to themſelves and their vaſſals. By theſe polemical pulpit arguments fanaticiſm was increaſed, and the mutual hatred of both churches was empoiſoned by their intemperate zeal.

In the midſt of theſe abuſes Maximilian died, and bequeathed to his ſon his territories thus

torn by divifions. The Proteftant religion, though oppreffed by the laws, was in reality the reigning one, as it prevailed among the ftates, who prefcribed rules to the fovereign. It was daily making profelytes, and threatened, with the affiftance of the other German Proteftants, totally to annihilate the Catholic faith, in whofe ruin that of the Houfe of Auftria was alfo involved. Rodolph now began to oppofe this impending ftorm, and laboured by ftratagem as well as force to effect a counter-reformation. The churches forcibly feized by the Proteftants were fhut up; the religious toleration of the nobility, whenever abufed, was put under reftrictions; and the Proteftants were gradually removed from their offices in the country, and replaced by Catholics. The prelates were now encouraged to appear in the national diet, and the Catholics obtained the fuperiority. Their diffidence and dread of the Proteftants were reftored, and thinking their deftruction refolved on, their vigilance was awakened, and they began to look around them for foreign affiftance. The combuftibles of inward infurrection were prepared, which only awaited to be kindled into an explofion.

Among the hereditary dominions of Auſtria, Hungary and Tranſylvania were the moſt difficult to be kept in ſubjection. The impoſſibility of maintaining thoſe countries againſt the ſuperior power of the Turks had already prevailed upon Ferdinand to adopt the diſhonourable expedient of ſubſidizing the Porte to acknowledge his authority over them:—a dangerous confeſſion of his weakneſs, and a ſtill more dangerous temptation to the turbulent nobility to rebel upon every pretext. The Hungarians had not unconditionally ſubmitted to the Houſe of Auſtria. They maintained the privilege of electing their kings, and firmly inſiſted upon all the prerogatives attached to that right of election. The vicinity of the Turkiſh empire, and the eaſe with which they could change their maſters, encouraged the magnats * in their preſumption: diſſatisfied with the Auſtrian government, they threw themſelves into the arms of the Turks; diſguſted with this yoke, they returned to their allegiance under Auſtria. But they ſuffered their German maſters to make dear ſacrifices for the preference which was given them. Their frequent and ſudden tranſitions from

* The great lords of Hungary are ſo called. *Tranſ.*

one government to another had divided their ſentiments: and uncertain how their country ſtood ſituated between the German and Ottoman powers, they wavered between apoſtacy and ſubmiſſion. The more both countries felt the misfortune of being ſubjected to a foreign power, the more they were inclined to obey a ſovereign of their own; and in ſuch circumſtances it was not difficult for an enterpriſing nobleman to gain their confidence. A rebel againſt his ſovereign, he haſtened by a politic ſubmiſſion to aſſume a merit with the oppoſite party, and to obtain from it an inveſtiture of the ſovereignty. This was readily granted to him, becauſe what was loſt by the enemy was regarded as an acquiſition. With alacrity the next baſhaw ſupported a rebel againſt Auſtria, and with equal eagerneſs did Auſtria beſtow whatever provinces were wreſted from the Turks, provided a ſhadow of authority was maintained, and they ſerved as a barrier againſt the Ottoman power. Several of ſuch magnats, Bathori, Boſchkai, Ragoczi, and Bethlen, eſtabliſhed themſelves in Hungary and Tranſylvania as tributary ſovereigns, and obſerved no other policy than that of occaſionally joining the enemy, to render themſelves formidable to their own prince.

Fer-

Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Rodolph, who were all ſovereigns of Hungary and Tranſylvania, exhauſted the ſtrength of their other ſtates to ſecure the firſt from the irruptions of the Turks, and interior rebellion. Deſtructive wars were exchanged for ſhort truces which were not much more advantageous: the country was laid waſte, and the oppreſſed ſubject complained equally of his enemy and his protector. The Auſtrian ſoldier acted as maſter in the country which he defended; his ſubſiſtence, when not voluntarily given him, he exacted by force: he was aſſiſted with reluctance, and behaved with inſolence. The negligence of the Emperor, which left the country defenceleſs, the moſt important employments vacant, and the moſt preſſing remonſtrances unanſwered, occaſioned the loudeſt complaints in thoſe as well as in his other territories: and the avarice of the fiſcal, the inſolence of his officers, and the licentiouſneſs of his troops, rendered the murmurs univerſal.

The Reformation had alſo introduced itſelf into thoſe countries, and ſupported by the protection of religious freedom, under cover of the tumult, had made a viſible progreſs. This was now unſeaſonably introduced, and party ſpirit

 was

was rendered more dangerous by fanaticiſm. The Tranſylvanian and Hungarian nobility aroſe, and under the command of Boſchkai, a bold rebel, erected the ſtandard of ſedition. The inſurgents in Hungary were prepared to unite themſelves with the diſcontented Proteſtants in Auſtria, Moravia, and Bohemia, and to commence in thoſe countries a dangerous rebellion. In ſuch circumſtances, the ruin of the Houſe of Auſtria and of popery in thoſe territories was inevitable.

The Archdukes of Auſtria, brothers to the Emperor, had long beheld the impending ruin of their family with ſilent ſadneſs, but their patience was exhauſted by the laſt events. The Archduke Matthias, Maximilian's ſecond ſon, Viceroy of Hungary, and Rodolph's preſumptive heir, came forward to ſave the Houſe of Habſburg from total deſtruction. This prince in his youth, excited by a falſe ambition, had liſtened to the invitations of ſome Flemiſh rebels, who called him to their territories to defend their liberty againſt his own uncle, Philip II. Matthias, who miſtook the invitation of a party for that of a whole people, appeared in the Netherlands; but the event contradicted the wiſhes of the inhabitants of Brabant as much

as his own expectations, and he relinquished the undertaking without having added to his reputation. His second appearance in the political world was more honourable.

After repeated ineffectual remonstrances to the Emperor, he assembled the Archdukes, his brothers and cousins, at Presburg, and consulted with them upon the danger which threatened the House. His brothers unanimously yielded to him, as the eldest, the defence of a patrimony which a feeble brother neglected; all their rights and authority were vested in the hands of Matthias, and they conferred upon him the sovereign power, in order to provide for their common good. He immediately entered into a negotiation with the Turks and with the Hungarian rebels, and succeeded by his address to save, by a peace with the Turks, the remainder of Hungary; and, by a convention with the rebels, to reserve Austria's claims to the lost provinces. But Rodolph, as jealous of his authority as he was unequal to maintain it, declined to confirm this treaty, which he regarded as a criminal encroachment upon his power. He accused the Archduke of corresponding with the enemy, and of traitorous designs upon the throne of Hungary.

The

The activity of Matthias was by no means free from ambitious views, but the conduct of the Emperor favoured them. Having secured the Hungarians by their gratitude for his lately obtaining them the blessings of peace, and assured of the attachment of the nobles by his emissaries; being also certain of a strong party in Austria; he began to address the Emperor in a more firm tone. The Protestants of Austria and Moravia, long prepared for revolt, and now gained over by the Archduke through a promise of toleration, openly espoused his party, and they at length effected their long threatened union with the rebellious Hungarians. A formidable conspiracy was at once formed against the Emperor; he resolved, when too late, to atone for his past faults; in vain he endeavoured to dissipate the confederacy against him; a general insurrection had taken place; Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, rendered homage to Matthias, who was already on his way from Bohemia to seize upon the Emperor in his palace, and annihilate his authority.

The kingdom of Bohemia was not a more quiet possession for Austria than Hungary; with this difference, that in the former, religious, and in the latter, political considerations, fomented

mented the diſturbances. The firſt flames of religious war had broken out in Bohemia a century before Luther; and it was in that kingdom that, in a century after Luther, the flames of the thirty years war were kindled. The ſect to which John Huſs had given birth, ſtill exiſted in Bohemia, united with the Romiſh church in ceremonies and doctrines, except in the ſingle article of the communion, of which they partook in both forms: this privilege was granted to them by the council of Baſle, and though afterwards prohibited by the Pope, they ſtill continued to enjoy it under the protection of government. As the uſe of the chalice * conſtituted the principal diſtinction of this ſect, they were diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the *Utraquiſts* (communicants in both forms), and in this appellation, which reminded them of their favourite privilege, they aſſumed a pride. But under this title were alſo included the ſtricter ſects of Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, which differed in more important points from the Romiſh church, and bore a ſtrong reſemblance to the German Proteſtants. Among the Germans as well as the Swiſs, reformation made a rapid progreſs,

* A wonderfully important ſubject for a civil war! *Tranſ.*

and

and the name Utraquifts, under which they concealed their innovations, ferved to protect them againft perfecution.

They in fact poffeffed nothing but the name in common with the Utraquifts, and they were effentially Proteftants. Full of confidence in their party, and the Emperor's tolerance, they openly profeffed their opinions under the reign of Maximilian; after the example of the Germans they eftablifhed a particular catechifm, in which they acknowledged both the Lutheran and Calviniftic doctrines, and wifhed to transfer all the privileges of the Utraquift church to this new confeffion. This attempt met with oppofition on the part of their Catholic fellow-fubjects, and they were obliged to content themfelves with the verbal affurance of the Emperor's protection.

During the life of Maximilian they enjoyed perfect liberty in their new form, but the fcene was changed under his fucceffor. An Imperial edict was iffued, in which the Bohemian Brethren were deprived of the liberty of confcience. Thefe differed in no inftance from the Utraquifts, and their condemnation muft confequently have involved all the Bohemian Proteftants;

testants; all united to oppose the Imperial mandate in the diet, but without being able to annul it. The Emperor and the Catholic estates referred them to the constitution of the country, where in fact their religion, which had not yet gained the voice of the whole nation, found nothing in its favour. But how much were affairs changed since the period of that constitution? what then formed but an inconsiderable sect, was now become the reigning religion of the country. And was it not chicanery to confine a new increasing religion to old regulations? The Bohemian Protestants appealed to the verbal promise of Maximilian, and the toleration granted to the Germans, to whom they would yield no preference; but all was in vain, and they met with a refusal.

Such was the state of affairs in Bohemia when Matthias, already master of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, appeared in Kollin to raise the Bohemian states against the Emperor. The embarrassment of the latter was now extreme. Abandoned by his other hereditary dominions, he had fixed his last hopes upon the states of Bohemia, who, as might be foreseen, would take advantage of his necessities to

to forward their claims. After an interval of many years he made his public entry into Prague at the diet, and to convince the people that he was ftill living, orders were given to open all the windows in the ftreets through which the proceffion paffed; a fure proof of the neceffity to which he was reduced. His fears were realized. The ftates, which now felt their own importance, refufed to enter into terms without having their privileges confirmed, and their religion tolerated. It was in vain to have recourfe to old weapons; the Emperor's deftiny lay in their hands, and he muft fubmit to neceffity. Neverthelefs he yielded only to their other demands; thofe which concerned religion he poftponed until the enfuing diet.

The Bohemians now took up arms in his defence, and a bloody civil war was expected to enfue between both brothers. But Rodolph, who feared nothing fo much as a flavifh dependance upon the ftates, preferred the way of negotiation. By a formal abdication he refigned to his brother, Auftria and the kingdom of Hungary, of which indeed he could not deprive him, and acknowledged him as his fucceffor to the crown of Bohemia.

The

The Emperor had extricated himſelf at a great price from one difficulty only to involve himſelf in another. The religious affairs of Bohemia were referred to the next diet; this aſſembled in 1609. The Proteſtants required a free exerciſe of their religion, as under the late Emperor, a conſiſtory, the ceſſion of the univerſity of Prague, and protectors or defenders of liberty from their own body: they were anſwered as formerly, for the timid Emperor was wholly governed by the Catholic party. Notwithſtanding the threatening tone in which the ſtates renewed their remonſtrances, Rodolph adhered to his former declaration of not yielding to their demands; the diet diſperſed without coming to any concluſion, and, exaſperated againſt the Emperor, they concerted a general meeting in Prague, in order to redreſs themſelves.

They accordingly appeared at Prague in great numbers. Notwithſtanding the Imperial prohibition, they continued their deliberations almoſt before the Emperor's eyes; the condeſcenſion which he began to diſplay, ſhowed them how much they were an object of terror, and augmented their boldneſs; yet in the principal point he ſtill remained inexorable. They

 fulfilled

fulfilled their threats, and at length resolved of their own accord to establish a toleration of their religion, and to abandon the Emperor to his necessities until he had confirmed their resolutions. They proceeded still further, and established the *defenders*, which they were refused by the Emperor. Ten were nominated from each estate; and it was immediately determined to raise an armed force, of which the principal author of this insurrection, Count Thurn, was appointed commander. This resolution at length obliged the Emperor to yield, to which the Spaniards even advised him. Apprehensive lest the incensed states should throw themselves under the Hungarian King's protection, he signed the famous Bohemian *Letter of Majesty*, by which that people justified their insurrection under his successors.

The Bohemian confession which the states had submitted to the Emperor Maximilian, obtained in this letter an equal right with the Catholic religion. The Utraquists, as the Bohemian Protestants still continued to denominate themselves, were put in possession of the university of Prague, and obtained a consistory of their own, independent of the episcopal see of that city; all the churches which at the obtaining

ing of this letter they possessed in the cities, market-towns, and villages, were confirmed to them; and the nobility, gentry, and magistrates, were not prohibited from erecting new ones. This last article of the *letter of majesty* is that which afterwards unfortunately kindled the flames of war throughout Europe.

The *letter of majesty* erected the Protestant part of Bohemia into a sort of republic. The states learned the strength which they had acquired by union and perseverance; the Emperor retained only a shadow of his authority: among those denominated *protectors of liberty*, the spirit of insurrection had attained a dangerous height. The example and good fortune of Bohemia afforded a strong temptation to the other states of Austria to extort similar privileges. The spirit of liberty extended from one province to another; and as it was principally the disunion between the Austrian princes, of which the Protestants took such advantage, they now endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between the Emperor and the King of Hungary.

But this reconciliation could not be sincere; the injury was too great to be forgiven, and Rodolph

Rodolph nouriſhed in his boſom an irreconcileable hatred to Matthias. With regret and indignation he reflected the Bohemian ſceptre would alſo deſcend to the hands of his enemy; and the proſpect was not much more conſoling, even though Matthias died without children: in that caſe, Ferdinand Archduke of Gratz, whom he equally hated, was at the head of the family. To exclude the latter, as well as Matthias, from the Bohemian ſucceſſion, he formed a ſcheme of bequeathing that kingdom to Ferdinand's brother, the Archduke Leopold, Biſhop of Paſſau. The prejudices of the Bohemians in favour of the elective right of their crown, and their attachment to Leopold's perſon, appeared favourable to this ſcheme, in which Rodolph was directed more by his factious diſpoſition and vengeance, than the good of his family. In order to promote this project, a military force was wanting, which Rodolph actually aſſembled in the biſhopric of Paſſau. The deſtination of this corps was kept ſecret; but an unforeſeen inroad which it made into Bohemia for want of pay, and unknown to the Emperor, beſides the irregularities it committed, exaſperated the whole kingdom againſt him. In vain did he proteſt his innocence to the ſtates, who did not believe his

affe-

aſſeverations: in vain he endeavoured to contain his troops in order. Perſuaded that he intended to annul the letter of majeſty, the *defenders of liberty* armed all the Proteſtants of Bohemia, and Matthias was called into the country. After the diſperſion of his Paſſau troops, the Emperor remained in Prague, guarded like a priſoner in his palace, and deprived of all his counſellors. Matthias was received in Prague with univerſal acclamations, and Rodolph ſoon after had the puſillanimity to acknowledge him King of Bohemia. So hard was his fate, that, during his life, he muſt abdicate, in favour of his enemy, a throne of which he envied him the poſſeſſion, even after death. To complete his humiliation, he was compelled, by a perſonal renunciation, to abſolve his ſubjects in Bohemia, Sileſia, and Luſatia, from their allegiance. This laſt act coſt him the moſt bitter anguiſh. On his ſignature of the inſtrument, he flung his hat on the ground, and broke the pen which had rendered him that ſhameful ſervice.

Having once loſt his hereditary dominions, the Imperial dignity was not better ſecured to him. Each of the religious parties into which Germany was divided made efforts to improve

its own interefts, at the expenfe of the others, or defend itfelf againft their attacks. The weaker the hands were which wielded the Imperial fceptre, the more the Proteftants and Catholics were left at their own difpofal, their attention to each other was confined, and their mutual diftruft increafed; it was fufficient that the Emperor reigned through Jefuits, and was governed by Spanifh councils, to infpire the Proteftants with terror, and afford them a pretext for hoftility. The inconfiderate zeal of the Jefuits, which led them, in their publications and in the pulpit, to queftion the validity of the religious peace, further increafed their fufpicions, and gave even the moft inconfiderable meafures of the Catholics a dangerous appearance. Every ftep which was taken in the hereditary dominions of Auftria to oppofe the reformed religion excited the attention of all the German Proteftants. This powerful fupport which the reformed confederates met with in Germany, or expected to find, chiefly occafioned their confidence, and the rapid good fortune of Matthias. The Empire generally imagined that the enjoyment of the religious treaty was owing to the troubles which reigned in the Emperor's territories, and confequently did

did not haſten to relieve him from his embarraſſments.

Almoſt all the affairs of the diet were neglected, either by the careleſſneſs of the Emperor, or the obſtinacy of the Proteſtant ſtates, which had reſolved not to aſſiſt the Empire until their grievances were redreſſed. The grievances complained of were principally the bad adminiſtration of the Emperor, the infringement of the religious treaty, and the Aulic counſellor, who, under this adminiſtration, endeavoured to extend his authority at the expenſe of the Imperial chancellor. Formerly the Emperors had, of themſelves in trifling matters, and with the conſent of the princes in more important caſes, finally decided all diſputes between the ſtates, or had them adjudged by Imperial judges. This prerogative they had, in the end of the fifteenth century, erected into a regular and permanent tribunal, the Council of Spires, to which the ſtates of the Empire, to ſave themſelves from the Emperor's oppreſſion, reſerved to themſelves the privilege of nominating its aſſeſſors, and ſubjecting its decrees to occaſional reviſion. This privilege, which was called the *right of preſentation*, was by the religious treaty conceded to the Lutherans, ſo that

that Proteſtant judges now ſat in the courts of the Empire, and both religions, in this ſupreme tribunal, were placed upon an appearance of equality.

But the enemies of the Reformation, and of the liberties of the Empire, attending to every circumſtance which favoured their deſigns, ſoon diſcovered the means of evading the beneficial effects of this eſtabliſhment. By degrees it was contrived that a private tribunal, that of the Aulic Council at Vienna (originally intended to decide ſuch caſes as immediately concerned the Imperial prerogative, whoſe members were appointed by the Emperor, and were paid by him, whoſe immediate deſign it was to promote the intereſts of their maſter and of the Catholic religion), ſhould diſpenſe juſtice in the Empire. Several ſuits were now brought before the Aulic Council, between different religions, which properly belonged to the Council of Spires. It was not then ſurpriſing that the deciſions of this tribunal betrayed its original intent, and that juſtice was ſacrificed to the intereſts of the Catholic religion and thoſe of the Emperor. Although it ſhould appear that all Germany had cauſe to oppoſe ſuch an abuſe from the commencement, the Proteſtants alone, and

and even not all of theſe, came forward to defend the liberties of the Empire, which this arbitrary inſtitution infringed in the moſt ſacred point, that of the adminiſtration of juſtice. In fact, Germany could derive but little benefit from the abolition of feudal violence, and the inſtitution of a tribunal of juſtice, if one entirely at the diſpoſal of the Emperor was ſuffered to exiſt. The German ſtates would have very little improved their condition from barbarous ages, if their courts of juſtice lay in the Emperor's power. But in that age men's ſentiments diſplayed the moſt palpable contradictions. The title of Emperor, a remnant of Roman deſpotiſm, conveyed an idea of authority which formed a ridiculous contraſt with the privileges of the ſtates, but which was nevertheleſs adopted by lawyers, promoted by the friends of arbitrary power, and revered by the ignorant. It could not indeed be otherwiſe when one of the firſt Proteſtant powers in Germany was ſo infatuated as to harbour an opinion which tended to deſtroy fundamentally the conſtitution of the Empire.

To theſe general abuſes were added a chain of circumſtances which at length produced the utmoſt diſtruſt among the Proteſtants. During the

the Spanifh perfecutions in the Netherlands fome Proteftant families had taken refuge in the Catholic Imperial city of Aix-la-Chapelle, where they had fettled, and gradually extended their principles. After having by ftratagem fucceeded in introducing into the town-council fome of their fect, they demanded a church and the free exercife of their religion; which, however, being refufed them, they obtained it, together with the entire government of the city, by force. To have fo confiderable a city in the hands of Proteftants was too fevere a blow for the Emperor and the whole Catholic party. After the Emperor's orders and exhortations were unable to re-eftablifh the former government, the Aulic Council, by a decree, profcribed the city; which profcription, however, was not enforced till the enfuing reign.

Two other events had a great effect in extending the power and authority of the Proteftants. Trufchfefs of Waldburg, Elector of Cologne, conceived for the young Countefs Agnes of Mansfeldt, Canonefs of Girrifheim, an ardent paffion, which was become mutual between them. As this attachment excited the attention of all Germany, the Canonefs's brothers, two zealous Calvinifts, infifted upon fatisfaction for

the injured honour of their family, which, ſo long as the Elector remained a Catholic, could not be vindicated by a marriage. They threatened vengeance againſt their ſiſter, and the Elector, if he did not either immediately deſiſt from his addreſſes, or vindicate her reputation by marriage. The Elector, regardleſs of the conſequences, yielded to the infatuation of love. Whether previouſly attached to the reformed religion, or whether it was love which effected this ſtrange event, he renounced the Catholic faith, and led the beautiful Agnes to the altar.

This converſion was of the greateſt importance. By the eccleſiaſtical law, the Elector, by his apoſtacy, had forfeited his electorate, and the power of executing theſe laws was of the greateſt conſequence to the Catholics. On the other hand, the ſacrifice was the more ſevere for ſo affectionate a huſband, who wiſhed to enhance the value of his heart and his hand by the gift of a principality. Beſides that the eccleſiaſtical regulations formed a diſputed article in the treaty of Augſburg, it was of the utmoſt importance for the Proteſtants of Germany to wreſt this fourth electorate from the Catholics.

Catholics *. The Elector's example was followed in many chapters in the north of Germany. Several canons of Cologne already embraced the Proteſtant faith, and were of the Elector's party; and in that city he could depend upon a ſtrong Proteſtant faction. Theſe circumſtances, enforced by the encouragement of his friends and relations, and the promiſes of ſeveral German courts, determined him to maintain his authority with his religion.

But it ſoon appeared that the Elector had engaged in a conteſt which he could not bring to a favourable concluſion. The Catholic ſtates and chapters had already given the introduction of the Proteſtant religion into the electorate of Cologne the moſt violent oppoſition. The interference of the Emperor, and an anathema from Rome, which excommunicated the Elector as an apoſtate, and deprived him of his eccleſiaſtical and ſecular authority, armed his own ſubjects and his chapter againſt him. Both ſides aſſembled a military power; and the chapter, in order to increaſe their ſtrength, pro-

* Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate, were already Proteſtant. *Tranſ.*

proceeded to a new election, which terminated in favour of the Biſhop of Liege, a prince of the Houſe of Bavaria.

A civil war now commenced, that, from the intereſt which the different religious factions in Germany muſt neceſſarily have had in this event, was likely to cauſe a breach of the religious treaty. The Proteſtants were chiefly exaſperated at the Pope's having preſumed, by his apoſtolic power, to deprive a prince of the Empire of his authority. This privilege was denied the Pope, even in the golden days of papal darkneſs; and how much more ſo now, when he had loſt ſo much of his authority, and his power was ſupported by ſuch weak pillars? All the Proteſtant princes in Germany blamed the Emperor for this ſtep; and Henry IV. of France, then king of Navarre, left no means of negotiation untried to recommend to the German princes the ſtrenuous aſſertion of their rights. The liberty of Germany depended upon this circumſtance: four Proteſtant againſt three Catholic voices in the electoral college muſt have transferred the ſuperiority to the Proteſtant party, and for ever excluded the Houſe of Auſtria from the Imperial throne.

But

But the Elector of Cologne had embraced the reformed, not the Lutheran religion: and this circumſtance cauſed his misfortune. The mutual animoſity of both churches did not permit the Lutheran ſtates to regard him of their party, and effectually to ſupport him as ſuch. He had been encouraged and promiſed aſſiſtance by all. John Caſſimir, Count Palatine, a younger prince of the Palatinate, and a Calviniſt, alone performed his promiſe. Notwithſtanding the Imperial prohibition, he haſtened with his ſmall army into the territories of Cologne, but without effecting any thing conſiderable, becauſe the Elector, preſſed by his own neceſſities, was unable to afford him any aſſiſtance. The new-choſen Elector made effectual efforts on the contrary, being ſtrongly ſupported by his Bavarian friends, and the Spaniards from the Netherlands. The depoſed Elector's troops, left by their maſter without pay, ſurrendered one place after another to the enemy: others were taken by force. Gebhard held out ſtill for ſome time in his Weſtphalian territories, but was at length compelled to yield. After vain attempts in Holland and England to effect his reſtoration, he retired into the chapter of Straſburg, and died dean of that cathedral; the firſt ſacrifice to Catholic power, or

or rather to the want of harmony among the German Proteſtants.

From this diſpute in Cologne aroſe a new one at Straſburg. Several members of the chapter of Cologne, who were alſo included in the papal anathemas, had fled to this biſhopric, where they alſo enjoyed prebends. As the Catholic canons of the chapter of Straſburg endeavoured to moleſt them in the poſſeſſion of their prebends, they maintained their poſſeſſion by force; and a powerful ſupport among the citizens of Straſburg, who were Proteſtants, ſoon obtained them the ſuperiority in the chapter. The Catholic canons retired to Alſace-Saverne, where they continued the chapter as the only genuine one, and declared the other ſpurious; nevertheleſs the latter, ſtrengthened by the acceſſion of ſeveral powerful Proteſtant confederates, had the addreſs, after the biſhop's death, to poſtulate a new Proteſtant biſhop in the perſon of Prince John George of Brandenburg. The Catholic canons, far from confirming this election, poſtulated the Biſhop of Metz, a prince of Lorrain, who immediately announced it by hoſtilities againſt the territories of Straſburg.

The

The city of Strasburg now took up arms in favour of the Protestant chapter; and the opposite party, desirous of seizing the effects of the church, advanced against them, assisted by the troops of Lorrain. This produced a tedious war, which, according to the spirit of the times, was attended with barbarous devastation. In vain did the Emperor interpose his authority to terminate the contest; the possession of both chapters remained a long time divided between them, until the Protestant prince at length, for a moderate pecuniary equivalent, relinquished his claim, and thus the Catholic party prevailed.

An event which soon after took place at Dunauwerth, a Suabian free city, was still more prejudical to the Protestant interests. In this once Catholic city the Protestants, during the reign of Ferdinand and his son, had by their usual means obtained the superiority, and the Catholics were obliged to content themselves with a church in the monastery of the Holy Cross, where they were under the necessity of concealing their ceremonies from the jealousies of the Protestants. At length a fanatical abbot of this cloister ventured, in opposition to the people, to make a public procession, which was

preceded by the croſs and flying colours; but he was ſoon compelled to abandon his deſign. This ſame abbot, encouraged by a favourable declaration of the Emperor, ventured a year after to renew this proceſſion. A tumult was excited. The fanatical populace ſhut the gates againſt the monks on their return, threw their colours on the ground, and purſued them with reproaches and abuſe. An Imperial citation was the conſequence of this violence; and as the multitude even attempted to inſult the Imperial commiſſaries, and no hope remained of a peaceable termination of this diſpute, the city was put to the bann* of the Empire, the execution of which was entruſted to Maximilian Duke of Bavaria. The citizens, hitherto ſo bold, were ſeized with a panic on the approach of the Bavarian army, and laid down their arms without reſiſtance. Their rebellion was puniſhed with the total abolition of the Proteſtant religion within their walls. Donauwerth was deprived of its privileges, and, from a free Imperial city, became a municipal town of Bavaria.

* A civil excommunication pronounced againſt the refractory members of the Empire. *Tranſ.*

Even were the Proteſtants leſs attentive to the intereſts of their religion, two circumſtances connected with this event muſt have excited their attention to the utmoſt. The Aulic council, an arbitrary and entirely Catholic tribunal, had pronounced this ſentence, and had entruſted the execution of it to the Duke of Bavaria, the ſovereign of another circle. This unconſtitutional ſtep threatened them with violent meaſures on the part of the Catholics, and they aſcribed it to private ſchemes for the oppreſſion of their religion.

In circumſtances where ſtrength prevails over juſtice, and where ſecurity depends upon ſtrength, the weaker ſide are almoſt always the moſt eager to provide for their own defence. This was now the caſe in Germany. It was probable, according to the moſt rational calculation, that whatever attempt the Catholics had formed againſt the Proteſtants would be executed in the ſouth rather than the north of Germany; becauſe the northern Proteſtants poſſeſſed long tracts of country which could eaſily ſupport each other; whereas thoſe of the ſouth were in detached parts, ſurrounded by Catholic ſtates, and expoſed to every inroad. Beſides, as was to be expected if the Catholics took

took advantage of the interior divifions, and directed their attack againft the religious party, the Calvinifts were the weakeft, and being alfo excluded from the religious treaty, they ftood in danger of falling upon the firft attack.

Both thefe circumftances took place in the Palatinate, which poffeffed a dangerous neighbour in the Duke of Bavaria, and, by reafon of its embracing Calvinifm, was excluded from the benefit of the religious treaty, and had little hope of fuccour from the Lutherans. No country in Germany had undergone fuch a rapid revolution in its religion as the Palatinate at that period. In the fhort fpace of fixty years that unhappy country was feen twice to adopt Luther's doctrines, and as often exchanged them for Calvinifm. The Elector Frederic III. relinquifhed the confeffion of Augfburg, which his fon and fucceffor Lewis rapidly re-eftablifhed; throughout the whole country the Calvinifts were deprived of their churches; their preachers, and even their teachers, were conducted to the frontiers; and this zealous prince even perfecuted them in his will, by appointing none except ftrict Lutherans as guardians to his children. But this unjuft will was laid afide by his brother the Count

 Palatine,

Palatine, John Caſſimir, who, according to the regulations of the golden bull, took upon himſelf the guardianſhip, and aſſumed the regency. Calviniſt inſtructors were appointed to the Elector Frederic IV. then only nine years old, and they were ordered to uſe perſonal chaſtiſement, if neceſſary, in eradicating his Proteſtant doctrines.—If ſuch was the treatment of the ſovereign, that of the ſubject may be eaſily conceived.

It was under this Frederic that the Palatine court made great efforts to unite the German Proteſtants, and form them into a confederacy againſt the Houſe of Auſtria. Beſides that this court lay under the direction of France, which was always animated by a hatred againſt Auſtria, he was induced to provide for his own ſecurity, and that of his religion, againſt a powerful and ſuperior enemy. But great difficulties were oppoſed to this confederacy: the diſlike of the Lutherans againſt the Calviniſts being ſcarcely leſs than their common hatred againſt the Papiſts. An union of the two religions was therefore attempted, in order to prepare for the confederacy: but all attempts failed, and had no other effect than to confirm both ſects in their reſpective opinions. Nothing

now

now remained but, by exciting fear and diſtruſt among the Lutherans, to prevail upon them by neceſſity to enter this confederacy. The power of the Catholics and the greatneſs of the danger were magnified; accidental incidents were aſcribed to deliberate plans; innocent actions, by over-cautious conſtructions, were miſrepreſented; and the whole conduct of the Catholics was aſcribed to a ſyſtematic plan of hoſtility, of which the latter did not probably entertain an idea. No rumour was ſo improbable, no accuſation ſo deteſtable, as not to be credited: even though the Catholics intended to infringe the religious treaty (and it was in their power), that peace was guaranteed by their veneration for it. But the Proteſtants appeared to apprehend what they merited.

The diet of Ratiſbon, in which the Proteſtants hoped to obtain a renewal of the religious treaty, was diſſolved without any determination, and to their former vexations were added the new oppreſſion of Donauwerth. The long-ſought confederacy at length took place. A meeting was held at Anhauſen in Franconia, in 1608, at which appeared the Elector Palatine, Frederic IV. the Count Palatine of Neuburg, two Margraves of Brandenburg, the

Margrave of Baden, and John Frederic Duke of Wirtemburg; Lutherans with Calvinists; and they established for themselves and their heirs a close confederacy under the title of the *Evangelic Union*. The purport of this union was, that in religious matters as well as in their civil rights the princes were engaged to assist each other mutually, and permit no individual oppression; that any member of the Union, when attacked, should be assisted by the rest; that his territories, towns, and castles should be opened to them; and that whatever conquests were made should be divided among the whole, according to the quota furnished by each.

The direction of the whole confederacy was conferred in peace on the Elector Palatine, but with a limited authority: subsidies were demanded to defray the expenses, and a fund was established. No difference of religions (viz. between Lutherans and Calvinists) was to affect the Union; and its validity was to endure for ten years. Each member was, from the commencement, engaged to procure new confederates. Brandenburg declared for it, and Saxony favoured the Union. Hesse-Cassel could not be prevailed upon to declare itself; Brunswic and Lunenburg

Lunenburg alſo heſitated : but the three Imperial cities, Straſburg, Nuremburg, and Ulm, were no unimportant acquiſition to a league which ſtood in need of pecuniary aid ; and it was probable that their example would be followed by ſeveral of the other Imperial cities.

Theſe united ſtates, ſingly dejected and of ſmall importance, now aſſumed a more firm tone. They directed Prince Chriſtian of Anhalt to lay their grievances and demands before the Emperor ; which principally conſiſted in the reſtoration of Donauwerth, the abolition of the proſecution of the court, the Emperor's own adminiſtration, and the conduct of his counſellors. They made theſe remonſtrances at a period when the Emperor had ſcarce recovered from the troubles which had been occaſioned in his hereditary dominions ; when he had loſt to Matthias, Auſtria and Hungary, and barely ſaved his Bohemian crown by the *letter of majeſty* : and when a new conteſt was raiſed about the ſucceſſion of Juliers. It was not ſurpriſing that this tardy prince was now leſs active than ever, and that the confederates took up arms ſooner than the Emperor had foreſeen.

The Catholics viewed this confederacy with a ſuſpicious eye: the members of the latter were alike ſuſpicious of the Catholics and the Emperor, who was equally jealous of both: and on all ſides apprehenſion and animoſity had reached the greateſt height. To complete this embarraſſment, at this very conjuncture the death of John William Duke of Juliers occaſioned a diſputed ſucceſſion for the territories of Cleves and Juliers.

Eight competitors laid claims to this ſucceſſion, whoſe individuity was guaranteed by the moſt ſolemn treaties; and the Emperor, if diſpoſed to conſider it as entirely vacant, could become the ninth. Four claimants, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Count Palatine of Neuburg, that of Deuxponts, and the Margrave of Burgau, an Auſtrian prince, claimed it as a dower in behalf of four princeſſes, ſiſters to the deceaſed Duke. Two others, the Elector of Saxony, of the line of Albert, and the Duke of Saxony, of the line of Erneſt, laid claims to it from a prior ſurvivorſhip, which was confirmed to them by the Emperors Frederic III. and Maximilian I. The claims of foreign princes were not regarded. The faireſt lay on the ſide of Brandenburg and Neuburg, and both

both appeared equally ſavoured by circumſtances. Each haſtened to take poſſeſſion of the inheritance: Brandenburg began, and Neuburg followed its example: both commenced their diſpute with the pen, and would probably have terminated it with the ſword; but the interference of the Emperor, to bring this ſuit under his own deciſion, while he in the mean time ſequeſtrated the diſputed territories, brought the competitors to a ſpeedy agreement in order to avert the common danger. It was reſolved to govern the dutchy in common. In vain did the Emperor order the eſtates not to do homage to the new ſovereigns; in vain did he ſend one of his relations, the Archduke Leopold, Biſhop of Paſſau, into the country in order to give weight to the Imperial party by his preſence. The whole country, except Juliers, had ſubmitted to the Proteſtant princes, and the Emperor's adherents were beſieged in that capital.

This diſpute was of importance to the Empire, and excited the attention of ſeveral European ſtates. The poſſeſſion of Juliers was of itſelf not of ſo much conſequence: but the queſtion was, which of the parties into which Germany was divided, the Proteſtant or Catholic,

tholic, ſhould obtain the ſuperiority by ſo conſiderable an acceſſion to their power. It was now to be ſeen whether Auſtria would perſevere in its uſurpations, and indulge its thirſt for dominion, by a new act of violence, or whether the independent powers of Germany were capable of reſiſting thoſe uſurpations. The ſucceſſion of Juliers conſequently intereſted all the powers which favoured liberty, or were hoſtile to Auſtria. The Evangelic Union, Holland, England, but principally Henry IV. of France, interpoſed upon this occaſion.

This monarch, the flower of whoſe age was paſſed in oppoſition to the Houſe of Auſtria, and who by the admirable perſeverance of a hero had ſurmounted all the obſtacles which that Houſe had thrown in his way to the French throne, had already been no inactive ſpectator of the troubles in Germany. It was even this diſpute of the ſtates with the Emperor which produced the peace in France. The Proteſtants and Turks formed a ſtrong counterpoiſe to the Auſtrian power, on its eaſtern and weſtern frontier: but it would be reſtored to its former greatneſs, if ſuffered to elude this conſtraint. Henry IV. had, during half a century, an uninterrupted example of Auſtria's uſurpations and

and thirſt for power, which neither adverſe fortune nor puſillanimity, that commonly depreſſes all the human paſſions, could extinguiſh in a boſom in which flowed a drop of the blood of Ferdinand of Arragon. Even in the weakeſt of the race of Habſburg this paſſion was ſtrong; this inclination was boundleſs in its moſt confined characters, and tarniſhed the luſtre of its few virtuous princes. The uſurpations of Auſtria had, during a century, deprived all Europe of its peace, and cauſed in the interior of its principal ſtates the moſt violent revolutions. It had deprived the field of the huſbandman, the manufactory of the artiſt, covered the country with numerous armies, and the ſeas with hoſtile fleets. It had reduced the European princes to the unhappy neceſſity of loading their ſubjects with exceſſive impoſts, and of exhauſting the ſtrength of their dominions in defending them. Europe could enjoy no repoſe, its ſtates no proſperity, no permanent plan could be formed for the happineſs of the people, ſo long as this dangerous race was permitted to diſturb its tranquillity; and it was much to be feared that the ambition of this Houſe would ſurvive its power. Even in its exhauſted ſituation, which threatened it with ruin, it coſt the confederacy thouſands

of

of lives and millions of money to confine its ambition within bounds. What great and noble defign could be executed? how much could the happinefs of all ranks be promoted by the exertions which were now ingloriouſly and ineffectually expended to guard the Houfe of Habſburg *?

Such confiderations arouſed Henry at the cloſe of his glorious career. What pains had it coſt him to diſpel the cloud which a long civil war, excited and fomented by Auſtria, had occaſioned in France! Every great foul labours for immortality; what then could guarantee to this prince the proſperity in which he left France, while Auſtria and Spain remained united, and while, though now weakened, a fortunate accident was only wanting to render them as formidable as ever? In order to leave his ſucceſſor the firm poſſeſſion of the throne, and ſecure to his people a durable peace, this power muſt be deſtroyed, and precautions taken againſt its re-eſtabliſhment. From this ſource flowed

* The Houſe of Auſtria is deſcended from the Counts of this name, a family of no great note. By the Empreſs Maria Tereſa's marriage with the Duke of Lorrain, it has been united with one of the moſt illuſtrious Houſes in Europe. *Tranf.*

the

the irreconcilable hatred which led Henry IV. to ſwear unextinguiſhable, ardent, and juſt vengeance againſt the Houſe of Auſtria, like Hannibal's antipathy againſt the Romans, but ariſing from nobler ſentiments.

The different powers of Europe had this provocation in common with Henry; but they poſſeſſed not that enlightened policy, that diſintereſted courage to act accordingly. Mankind are almoſt without exemption captivated with immediate advantages; great ſouls alone are excited by diſtant proſpects. So long as prudence depends upon itſelf, or relies upon its own reſources, it rejects nothing but chimerical plans; and while it ſometimes expoſes itſelf to the ridicule of the world, it enſures ſucceſs when its plan is directed to deſtroy barbarian avarice and ſuperſtition, and when private intereſts enable it to promote its laudable purpoſes.

In the firſt conſideration, Henry's project to drive the Houſe of Auſtria from all its poſſeſſions, and divide its conqueſts among the European powers, deſerved the name of chimerical, which mankind are in general ſo liberal in beſtowing: but did it merit this appellation in

in the ſecond? This excellent king could not flatter himſelf that the promoters of this deſign were inſpired with the ſame ſentiments which actuated himſelf and his miniſter Sully. The ſtates whoſe co-operation was wanting, were forced by the moſt preſſing political conſiderations to engage in this ſcheme; from the Auſtrian Proteſtants nothing was required but what they already ſeemed to aim at, their deliverance from the Auſtrian yoke; from the Flemings, nothing but a ſimilar deliverance from the Spaniards. It was of the utmoſt importance to the Pope and the republics of Italy to remove effectually the Spaniſh tyranny from their territories; to England, nothing could be more pleaſing than to be delivered from its moſt bitter enemy. Each power acquired, by this diviſion of Auſtria's uſurped conqueſts, either territory or independence, new property, or ſecurity for its old; and while each was indemnified, the balance of power was ſtill unviolated. France could with magnanimity renounce all claim to indemnification, as it doubly profited by Auſtria's ruin, and was the more powerful by not ſeeking any other advantage. The poſterity of Habſburg were at length permitted to expoſe their deſigns both to paſt and future worlds. Auſtria was only ſaved by the

the knife of Ravaillac, in order to postpone the tranquillity of Europe for centuries.

Attentive to this scheme, Henry must naturally have immediately interfered with the Evangelic Union in Germany, and in the succession of Juliers. His emissaries were busy in all the Protestant courts of Germany; and the hints which they sparingly gave of the intention of their monarch, were destined to gain proselytes, who were equally incensed against the House of Austria, and desirous of aggrandizing themselves. Henry's policy brought the Union to a still closer connexion, and the assistance which he promised them raised to the utmost the hopes of the confederates. A numerous French army, commanded by the King in person, was destined to join the troops of the Union on the Rhine, and first to assist them in conquering Cleves and Juliers; after which they were to proceed to Italy, where Savoy, Venice, and Rome, had formed a confederacy to overthrow the Spanish throne. These victorious armies were then to fall into the Austrian territories, and there, favoured by an universal insurrection, to destroy the power of Austria in Hungary, Bohemia, and Transylvania. The people of Holland and Brabant had already, with the assistance of France,

France, delivered themſelves from Spaniſh tyranny; and this furious torrent, which had overflown its banks, and threatened to bury the European liberties under its waves, now flowed quiet and forgotten behind the Pyrenean mountains.

The French were long famous for their activity, but on this occaſion they were overreached by the Germans. An army of the confederates entered Alſace before Henry had made his appearance there, and a corps of Auſtrians which the Biſhop of Paſſau and Straſburg had aſſembled there to advance againſt Juliers, was diſperſed. Henry IV. had formed his plan as a ſtateſman and a king, but he conſigned its execution to plunderers. According to his ideas, none of the Catholic ſtates could take umbrage at theſe preparations, or would eſpouſe Auſtria's quarrel. Religion was to have no ſhare in this diſpute; but it was by no means probable that the German princes would loſe ſight of their own intereſts in the execution of Henry's ſchemes. Excited by ambition and religious animoſity, was it not natural for them to gratify their ruling paſſions whenever they found an opportunity? They entered the territories of the eccleſiaſtical princes like maraud-

2 ers,

‑ers, and always took up their quarters in thoſe rich countries, though ever ſo far out of their way. As if in an enemy's territory, they raiſed contributions, ſeized upon the revenues, and exacted by force what was not voluntarily given to them. Not to leave the Catholics in ſuſpenſe as to the intent of this expedition, the latter were plainly given to underſtand, that it was deſtined to decide the fate of the poſſeſſions of the Catholic church. So little good intelligence reigned between Henry and the German princes in their plan of operations, and ſo much was this excellent king deceived in the inſtruments he employed. It is an obſervation confirmed by experience, that an act of violence, directed by prudence, ſhould never be left to violence to enforce; and that the violation of good order ſhould only be entruſted to thoſe who hold it ſacred.

The conduct of the confederates, reſented even by ſeveral of the Proteſtant ſtates, and the apprehenſions which the Catholics began to entertain of a ſtill worſe treatment, did not permit them to behold it with ſilent indignation. The authority of the Emperor was at too low an ebb to protect them againſt ſuch an enemy; the union of the confederates was what

 rendered

rendered them ſo formidable, and this union muſt now be oppoſed by another.

The Biſhop of Wirtzburg drew the plan of this Catholic union, which was diſtinguiſhed from that of the Proteſtants by the denomination of *The League.* It principally conſiſted of biſhops, and the grounds of it were the ſame with thoſe of the Union. At its head was Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, the only ſecular member of importance, but furniſhed with much greater powers than the Proteſtant confederates had granted to their chief. From this circumſtance it aroſe, that the Duke of Bavaria, being commander in chief of the troops of the League, their operations had a ſuperior force and activity, and ſupplies were obtained from the rich prelates with much more eaſe than the Proteſtants could obtain them from their poorer adherents. Without Imperial aid as a Catholic ſtate, without even communicating their deſigns to the Emperor, the Catholic League appeared ſuddenly firm and formidable, with force ſufficient to cruſh the Proteſtant Union, and to ſuſtain itſelf under three Emperors. Though the League eſpouſed the Emperor's quarrel, as an enemy to the Proteſtants, they ſoon became formidable to himſelf.

Meanwhile

Meanwhile the arms of the confederates were ſucceſsful in Cleves and Juliers: Juliers was blockaded, and the entire biſhopric of Straſburg in their power. But this was the concluſion of their triumphs. No French army appeared on the Rhine, becauſe its deſtined leader, and the ſoul of the whole undertaking, Henry IV. was now no more; their ſupplies were gradually expended, and the ſtates heſitated to grant new ſubſidies; while the free cities were offended that their money was always demanded, but never their advice. They were particularly exaſperated at being expoſed to expenſe by the expedition of Juliers, which was expreſsly excluded from the affairs of the Union; that the united princes beſtowed large penſions out of the common treaſure; and principally, that the expenditure of the money was not accounted for.

Thus did the Union verge towards its fall, at the moment when the League, with accumulated ſtrength, oppoſed it. The confederates could no longer keep the field from their want of money, and it was dangerous to lay down their arms in the preſence of a formidable enemy. To ſecure themſelves in one quarter, however, they concluded a treaty with their

old enemy, the Archduke Leopold, and both parties agreed to withdraw their troops from Alſace, to releaſe the priſoners, and forget the paſt violences on both ſides. Thus ended all their boaſted preparations.

The imperious tone in which the confederates, confiding in their ſtrength, had addreſſed the German Catholics, was now retorted upon themſelves and their troops; their own ſteps were followed, and they were branded with the ſevereſt epithets. The chapters of Wirtzburg, Bamberg, Straſburg, Mentz, Treves, and Cologn, had ſuffered from their ravages; all theſe loſſes were to be indemnified, and the free navigation of the Rhine, which the Proteſtants had alſo ſeized, was to be reſtored to its former footing. The Unioniſts were required to give an unequivocal anſwer concerning the intent of their confederacy; they were now in their turn obliged to yield to ſuperior force; they had not expected ſo formidable an enemy, but they taught the Catholics the ſecret of their own ſtrength; their pride was hurt in being obliged to ſue for a peace which, however, they were fortunate in obtaining; the one ſide promiſed reſtitution, the other an indemnity; all laid down their arms; the tumult of war ſuddenly

ſuddenly ceaſed, and a temporary calm ſucceeded. It was at this period the inſurrection broke out in Bohemia, which coſt the Emperor his hereditary dominions; but neither the Union nor the League interfered with theſe diſturbances.

At length the Emperor died in 1612, as little remembered in his grave as he had been reſpected on the throne. The miſeries of the following reigns, however, effaced the remembrance of thoſe which his reign had cauſed, and added a luſtre to his memory; and ſuch was the condition to which Germany was reduced, that even this Emperor was in the concluſion very bitterly regretted.

Rodolph could not be prevailed upon to elect a ſucceſſor, and all minds were filled with apprehenſions by the approaching vacancy of the throne; but, contrary to expectation, Matthias took ſpeedy and peaceable poſſeſſion of it. The Catholics ſupported him, becauſe they formed great expectations from the activity of this prince; the Proteſtants followed their example, from the hopes they conceived of his weakneſs. It is not difficult to reconcile theſe

contradictions; the one judged from his former, the other from his actual disposition.

The moment of a new succession is commonly that of ardent hopes, and in elective crowns a king's first diet is commonly the most severe; every old grievance is introduced, and new ones are sought to include them in the expected reform. The services which the Protestants had rendered Matthias in his rebellion, were still fresh in the minds of the confederates, and the price which they exacted for them now, served as an example worthy of imitation.

It was by favouring the Protestants in Austria and Moravia, that Matthias had actually obtained the throne; but, blinded by his ambition, he never considered that by these means also, the Protestant states were enabled to give law to their sovereign. This discovery soon aroused him from the intoxication of success. No sooner after his accession to the crown of Bohemia had he appeared among his Austrian subjects, than demands awaited him which were calculated to disgust him with his exaltation. Previous to their rendering homage, they required an unlimited toleration of their religion in

in the cities and market-towns, a perfect equality with the Catholics, and an equal claim to all offices in the state. In several places they assumed these privileges of themselves, and restored the Protestant religion, from confidence in the new administration, where it had been suppressed by the Emperor. Matthias had not already scrupled to make use of the grievances of the Protestants against the Emperor, but it was by no means his intention to exalt that sect. By a firm and decisive tone he hoped to suppress these demands in the commencement; he spoke of his hereditary title to his dominions, and would hearken to no terms previous to his consecration: the same unconditional homage had been yielded by their neighbours, the inhabitants of Styria, to the Archduke Ferdinand; but they had soon reason to repent. Taught by this example, the states of Austria persisted in their claims. To avoid compulsion they left the capital, invited the Catholics to a similar resistance, and began to levy troops; they took steps to renew their old alliance with the Hungarians, drew the Protestant princes into their interests, and seriously prepared to establish their claims by force of arms.

Matthias had not heſitated to comply with the far more exorbitant demands of the Hungarians; but Hungary was an elective kingdom, and the republican form of its conſtitution juſtified the claims of the ſtates, as alſo his conceſſion to them before the Catholic League. On the contrary, in Auſtria his predeceſſors had exerciſed much greater prerogatives; theſe he could not relinquiſh to the ſtates without diſgracing himſelf in the eyes of all the Catholics in Europe, exciting the enmity of Spain and Rome, and loading himſelf with the contempt of his own Catholic ſubjects. His more ſevere Catholic counſellors, of whom Melchior Kleſel, Biſhop of Vienna, was the principal, exhorted him, ſooner than yield to the Proteſtants, to deprive them by force of all their churches.

But unfortunately this circumſtance occurred at a period when the Emperor Rodolph ſtill lived, and was a ſpectator of thoſe diſputes, when the latter might have turned his own weapon againſt him, that of exciting the ſubject to revolt. To avoid this blow, Matthias accepted the offer which the ſtates of Moravia made of becoming mediators between him and the Auſtrians. A committee of both ſtates

aſſembled

aſſembled at Vienna, where the Auſtrian deputies held a language which would have excited ſurpriſe in an Engliſh parliament, even in Cromwell's time *. "The Proteſtants," ſaid they, "will not be worſe treated than the few "Catholics in the country. It was by his Pro-"teſtant nobility that Matthias overcame the "Emperor; where eighty Papiſts were found, "three hundred Proteſtant barons might be "reckoned. The example of Rodolph ſhould "be a warning to Matthias; he ſhould beware "of not too ſpeedily relinquiſhing the goods "of this life for thoſe of the other." As the ſtates of Moravia, inſtead of uſing their privilege as mediators for the Emperor's benefit, at length embraced the cauſe of the Auſtrian Proteſtants, as the Union in Germany prepared vigorouſly to ſupport them, and as Matthias feared repriſals on the part of the Emperor, he was at length compelled to make the deſired declaration in behalf of the Proteſtants.

* Had the author been more intimately acquainted with the Engliſh hiſtory, he would have found it difficult to ſay what ſort of language would have appeared ſtrange in one of Cromwell's parliaments: that of common ſenſe was perhaps the ſcarceſt. *Tranſ.*

Such

Such behaviour of the Auſtrian ſtates to their Archduke, ſerved as an example to the German Proteſtants in their tranſactions with the Emperor, and promiſed them ſimilar ſucceſs. At the firſt diet at Ratiſbon in 1613, where the moſt preſſing affairs demanded immediate deciſion—a war againſt the Turks, and againſt Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Tranſilvania, who by Turkiſh aid had uſurped that country, and even threatened Hungary; under all theſe circumſtances, which required a prompt and general contribution, the Proteſtants, to the aſtoniſhment of all, ſuddenly advanced claims entirely new. The Catholics ſtill retained the moſt votes among the princes; and as every matter was decided by a plurality of voices, the Proteſtants, however they might be united, could not rival them. The Catholics muſt now renounce this advantage, and in future no one religious ſect muſt poſſeſs the privilege of outweighing the other by its majority of voices. In fact, as the Proteſtant religion was repreſented in the diet, it was to be underſtood that the conſtitution of this aſſembly ſhould not prevent them from making uſe of that privilege. Complaints againſt the uſurped juriſdiction of the Aulic council accompanied theſe demands, and the deputies of the ſtates

received

received orders to abftain from all general deliberations until they obtained a categorical anfwer to this preliminary article.

The diet was torn by thefe divifions which threatened the general meafures. However fincerely the Emperor wifhed to maintain a balance between both religions, after the example of his father Maximilian, the prefent conduct of the Proteftants left him only a ferious alternative. His neceffities required a general fubfidy, and he could not attach to himfelf the one party without becoming obnoxious to the other. Unfupported in his hereditary dominions, a war with the Proteftants was too ferious an undertaking. But the eyes of the Catholic world, which were fixed on the refolution he would now embrace; the remonftrances of the Catholic ftates, and thofe of Rome and the court of Spain, rendered it equally impoffible for him to favour the Proteftants at the expenfe of the Catholic religion. The interefts of the Catholics were clofely connected with the Emperor's authority; and, were thefe abandoned, the ecclefiaftical princes in particular enjoyed no further protection againft their enemies.

Perceiving

Perceiving the Emperor undecided, they thought the period at length arrived, when it was neceſſary to relieve his deſpondency. They accordingly communicated to him the ſecret of their league, its nature, its ſtrength and reſources. Diſcouraging as ſuch a diſcovery might be to the Emperor, the proſpect of ſo powerful a ſuccour gave him greater courage to oppoſe the Proteſtants; their demands were rejected, and the diet broke up without coming to a deciſion. But Matthias was himſelf the ſufferer in this quarrel. The Proteſtants withdrew from him their aid, and left him, though innocent, to feel the inflexibility of the Catholics.

Meanwhile the ceſſation of hoſtilities with the Turks approached to a concluſion, their conduct became more ſuſpicious, and an armament againſt them was neceſſary; the reſources which the Emperor could not command among the ſtates of the Empire, he was obliged to wreſt from his own. Theſe were divided into the ſame religious parties, and actuated by the ſame ſpirit of diſcontent, as the ſtates of the Empire; ſo that the Emperor had equal difficulties ſtill to ſurmount: no one province of the Auſtrian monarchy would come to any

any reſolution without conſent of the other; and a general diet of theſe ſtates might ſoon be converted into a dangerous confederacy againſt the Emperor. But at length imperious neceſſity compelled him to aſſemble the ſtates of Auſtria, Bohemia, Moravia, &c. at Lintz. The Emperor left no effort untried to convince them of the neceſſity of a war with the Turks; but when a final reſolution was wanting, the deputies had no inſtructions. This Auſtrian diet ended as fruitleſsly as that of the Empire, and the Emperor's good fortune alone extricated him from his difficulties. The Turks appeared willing to prolong the ceſſation of hoſtilities, and Bethlen Gabor was left in quiet poſſeſſion of Tranſilvania. The Empire was now ſecured againſt foreign danger, and it ſtill enjoyed peace notwithſtanding its interior diviſions. The ſucceſſion of Juliers received, from an unexpected accident, a ſudden turn. This dutchy was ſtill ruled in common by the Electoral Houſe of Brandenburg, and the Count Palatine of Neuburg; a marriage between the Prince of Neuburg and a Princeſs of Brandenburg was to have inſeparably united the intereſts of both Houſes. But this plan was fruſtrated by a box on the ear, which the Elector of Brandenburg, when intoxicated, gave his intended ſon-in-law.

This

This terminated the good underſtanding between both Houſes; the Prince of Neuburg embraced popery; a Princeſs of Bavaria was the reward of his apoſtacy, and the ſupport of Bavaria and Spain, the natural conſequences of both. To put him in full poſſeſſion of the territories of Juliers, the Spaniſh troops marched from the Netherlands. To rid himſelf of theſe gueſts, the Elector called the Dutch to his aſſiſtance, whoſe affections he expected to ſecure by having embraced the Preſbyterian religion. Spaniſh and Dutch armies appeared, but, as was ſoon perceived, only to make their own conqueſts.

The war in the Netherlands ſeemed ready to be decided in Germany; and what combuſtibles were not prepared in this latter Empire already! The Proteſtants, with conſternation, beheld the Spaniards eſtabliſh themſelves on the Lower Rhine; the Catholics, with ſtill greater fears, ſaw the Dutch enter the territories of the Empire. It is peculiar to religious wars to reſpect no boundaries of territory, to endeavour to extend themſelves in every country, becauſe in every country they poſſeſs friends and foes, where they are only exhauſted by the entire annihilation of their adherents. The ſtorm

which ravaged Germany appeared to gather in the weſt; conſternation and anxiety were directed to that quarter, but the firſt blow was ſtruck to the eaſtward.

The tranquillity which Rodolph II.'s *letter of majeſty* had eſtabliſhed in Bohemia, laſted under the adminiſtration of Matthias for ſome time, until a new heir to this kingdom was appointed in the perſon of Ferdinand of Gratz.

This prince, afterwards better known under the title of Ferdinand II. Emperor of Germany, had ſhown himſelf, by the extirpation of the Proteſtant religion in his territories, an inveterate zealot for popery, and was conſequently regarded by the Catholic party of Bohemia as its moſt firm future ſupport. The Emperor's declining ſtate of health, and their confidence of ſo powerful a ſupport, encouraged the Bohemian Catholics to treat the Proteſtants with great inſolence. The Proteſtant vaſſals of the Catholic nobility received in particular the hardeſt uſage; at the ſame time many of the Catholics were ſo imprudent as to expreſs their hopes, and by their threats to excite among the Proteſtants a diſtruſt of their future ſovereign. But this diſtruſt would never have broke

broke out into open violence, if particular attacks had not encouraged enterprising chiefs.

Henry Matthias, Count Thurn, not a native of Bohemia, but proprietor of some estates in that kingdom, had, by his zeal for the Protestant religion, and his enthusiastic love for his newly adopted country, gained an entire confidence among the Utraquists, and this procured him the greatest authority among them. He had served with reputation against the Turks, and by a flattering address he had obtained the esteem of the multitude; an ardent impetuous disposition inclined him to revolutions, where he could display his talents: bold and thoughtless to undertake schemes which a more prudent disposition would have rejected, he was sufficiently rash to indulge his passions at the expense of thousands of lives, and sufficiently artful to acquire an entire ascendancy over the Bohemians in their present situation; he had already taken the greatest share in the troubles of Rodolph's administration, and the *letter of majesty* obtained from this Emperor was principally owing to him. The Court had entrusted to him the charter, and the guardianship of the liberties of Bohemia, as Burgrave of Carlstein; but the nation conferred on him a more important-

ant

ant prerogative, that of defender of its faith. The ariſtocracy, which governed the Emperor, imprudently attentive to trifling circumſtances, while they overlooked thoſe of greater moment, deprived this nobleman of his office of burgrave, by which he was rendered independent of the court, and his attention directed to the importance of his other title: while his pride was offended, and his ambition deprived of all its dangerous appearances. From this period he was governed only by envy and a ſpirit of revenge; and a favourable opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf to gratify his reſentment.

In the *letter of majeſty* which the Bohemians obtained from Rodolph II. a principal article remained undecided. Every privilege which this granted the Proteſtants was enjoyed only by the nobility and the proprietors of eſtates; and the vaſſals in eccleſiaſtical territories had only obtained an uncertain toleration. The *letter of majeſty* alſo made mention only of the ſtates and the borough-towns, whoſe magiſtrates had the addreſs to procure themſelves equal privileges with the nobility. To theſe only it was permitted to build ſchools and churches, and to exerciſe their religion: in all other towns the toleration of Proteſtantiſm was left entirely at

 the

the diſcretion of the ſtates. The German ſtates, particularly the ſecular, had uſed this privilege without reſerve: the eccleſiaſtical ſtates, reſtrained by a proclamation of the Emperor Ferdinand, had oppoſed this reſtriction. In the religious peace the diſputed points were left equally undecided as in the *letter of majeſty*; and though in the former the conditions were more explicit, it was uncertain whether they would be obeyed; in the latter the whole interpretation was left to the ſtates. The vaſſals of Catholic eſtates in Bohemia thought themſelves entitled to equal privileges with thoſe granted to the ſubjects of German biſhops in Ferdinand's declaration; they eſteemed themſelves on a footing with the borough-towns, becauſe equally belonging with the latter to the royal domains. In the little town of Kloſtergrab, ſubject to the Archbiſhop of Prague, and in Brunau, which is under the abbot of that monaſtery, the Proteſtants laid the foundation of churches, and notwithſtanding the oppoſition of their proprietors, and the Emperor's diſapprobation, completed them.

In the mean time the vigilance of the defenders of liberty began to relax, and the court imagined it could make ſome attempt of importance.

portance. By the Emperor's orders the church at Kloftergrab was demolifhed, that at Brunau forcibly fhut up, and the moft turbulent of the citizens were thrown into prifon. An univerfal commotion among the Proteftants was the confequence of this ftep: the violation of the *letter of majefty* was loudly exclaimed againft; and Count Thurn, who, from his quality of *defender of liberty*, was in fome meafure required and excited by a fpirit of revenge, was bufily occupied in fomenting the general difcontent. At his incitation a meeting of deputies was called from every circle in the kingdom to concert meafures againft the common danger. It was here refolved to petition the Emperor to releafe the prifoners. The Emperor's reply, which offended the ftates by being addreffed to his deputy, not to them, reproached them with refractory and rebellious conduct, juftified the action at Kloftergrab and Brunau by an Imperial mandate, and contained fome threatening paffages. Count Thurn did not fail to increafe the bad effect which this Imperial edict had upon the ftates. He pointed out to them the danger to which all thofe who figned the petition were expofed, and by fears and animofity endeavoured to excite them to the moft violent

resolutions. To rise in arms against the Emperor was as yet too bold a step: by degrees, however, he led them to it. For this purpose he laid first the blame upon the Emperor's counsellors, and spread a report that the proclamation was composed by the government of Prague, and only signed in Vienna. The public hatred was principally directed to the Imperial deputy Slavata, who was president of the council, and Baron Martinitz, who, in the place of Count Thurn, was elected Burgrave of Carlstein. Both these noblemen had already afforded cause of suspicion to the Protestants, by refusing to assist at the debate in which the *letter of majesty* was registered. Threats were now uttered to render them answerable for every breach of this letter, and all the future sufferings of the Protestants were not without reason attributed to them. Among all the Catholic proprietors of estates these acted with most severity against their Protestant vassals. They were accused of hunting the latter with dogs into the mass, and forcing them, by a renunciation of baptism, marriage, and the funeral service, to embrace popery. Two such hated objects were soon destined as a sacrifice to public odium.

On the 23d of May 1618, the deputies aſſembled in arms, and in great numbers, at the Emperor's palace, and forcibly entered the room where the members of the regency, Sternburg, Martinitz, Lobkowitz, and Slavata, were ſitting. With a threatening tone they required a declaration from each of them whether they had a ſhare in the Emperor's proclamation, or had given their conſent to it. Sternburg received them with moderation, Martinitz anſwered with diſdain:—this decided their fate. Sternburg and Lobkowitz, leſs hated and more dreaded, were ſhown out of the room; while Slavata and Martinitz were dragged to a window, and flung into a ditch eighty feet deep. The ſecretary Fabricius, a creature of both, was thrown after them. This violent action excited the attention of all civilized nations. The Bohemians juſtified it as a national cuſtom, and found nothing ſo ſurpriſing as the little miſchief which it cauſed the ſufferers. A dunghill, on which they fell, had ſaved their lives.

This raſh action, as might be expected, could not ingratiate them with the Emperor; but Count Thurn was rejoiced to ſee matters come to this length. Having once ventured upon this ſtep, the ſtates muſt commit ſtill greater

greater crimes to ensure their own safety. By this act of violence every way to negotiation was shut up, and one crime rendered a chain of others indispensable. To justify the fact, the reigning power must be disarmed. Thirty directors were appointed to commence a regular insurrection. All the revenues and offices of the army and of the crown were immediately seized, and the whole Bohemian nation summoned to vindicate their common cause. The Jesuits, who were regarded as the authors of all their grievances, were banished; and the states found it necessary to justify this measure by a formal declaration. All these steps were taken for the better maintenance of the royal authority and the laws; the usual pretext of all fortunate rebels *.

The emotion which the Bohemian rebellion excited at the Imperial court was not so violent as might be expected. The Emperor Matthias no longer possessed that resolution which he had formerly displayed against his sovereign, in depriving him of three crowns. The prudent

* This example was followed some years after by the parliament of Charles I. The artifice of using the king's name and authority against himself was not therefore a new expedient, as Mr. Hume imagines. *Trans.*

courage

courage he had diſplayed in his uſurpation forſook him in his defence of his poſſeſſions. The Bohemian rebels having riſen in arms, the conſequences were ſuch as might be expected by his following their example. But he could not hope to confine the war to Bohemia: the Proteſtants formed a powerful party in his territories; their common danger might ſoon unite them in a powerful republic. If the Proteſtants in his territories united againſt him, what oppoſition could he make? Beſides that both parties exhauſted themſelves in a civil war, every thing was loſt by a defeat; and a victory over his own ſubjects could not be productive of advantage.

Conſiderations of this nature inclined the Emperor and his council to pacific meaſures: but others attributed to theſe meaſures the ſucceeding evils. Archduke Ferdinand of Gratz rather congratulated the Emperor upon an event which juſtified the utmoſt ſeverity againſt the Proteſtants in the eyes of all Europe: "Diſobedience, violence, and inſurrection," it was ſaid, "were always connected with Pro-"teſtantiſm. Every privilege which the ſtates "had obtained from the preſent and former "Emperors had no other effect than that of

 "in-

"increafing their demands. Their attempts "were manifeftly directed againft government, "and the heretics proceeded from one ftep to "another to the laft act of violence: their "next attack would be againft the perfon of "the Emperor. What had hitherto been fuf- "fered was only a juft punifhment for the "lenity with which they had been treated; "their prefent rebellion was a divine work to "fulfil the meafure of their crimes, and ex- "hauft the patience of their rulers. Such an "enemy was to be treated with only in arms. "Peace was to be eftablifhed only by the "total abolition of their dangerous privileges: "—it was in the ruin of this fect that the "Catholics were to look for fecurity. The "event of the war was truly doubtful, but in- "evitable ruin was the confequence of not en- "gaging in it. The forfeiture of the rebel "eftates would defray the expenfes, and the "example of executions would effectually ter- "rify the other ftates."

Againft fuch meafures it was juft that the Proteftants of Bohemia fhould take up arms. The infurrection was immediately directed, not againft the Emperor himfelf, who remained inactive, but againft his prefumptive heir. To

exclude

exclude this prince from the throne of Bohemia its inhabitants took up arms even under Matthias; ſo long, however, as this Emperor lived they contained themſelves within bounds.

But having once begun the inſurrection, the Emperor could not, conſiſtently with his dignity, ſue for peace. Spain offered ſubſidies, and promiſed to ſupport him with troops from Italy and the Netherlands; Count Bucquoi, a native of Flanders, was appointed generaliſſimo of the Imperial troops, becauſe no native could be truſted; and Dampierre, another foreigner, commanded under him. Before this army was put in motion the Emperor juſtified his conduct by a manifeſto. In this he aſſured the Bohemians "he had never formed any deſign "againſt their liberties; that he held ſacred "the *letter of majeſty*; and that their inſurrec-"tion alone forced him to extremities: that "he would diſband his army ſo ſoon as the "Bohemians laid down their arms." This moderate declaration failed in its purpoſe, becauſe the chief inſurgents concealed from their followers the Emperor's good intentions. Inſtead of this, the pulpits and public prints reſounded with vague rumours and fears of a renewal of the ſcene of St. Bartholomew's night, which

which exiſted only in their own imaginations. All Bohemia, except three towns, Budweiſs, Krummau, and Pilſen, were concerned in the inſurrection. Theſe three towns, chiefly compoſed of Catholics, had alone the courage to hold out for the Emperor, who promiſed them ſuccour: but to leave places of ſuch importance in the enemies hands, by which the kingdom was at all times left open, was a danger too great to eſcape the vigilance of Count Thurn; he appeared ſuddenly before Budweiſs and Krummau, and expected to force them by terror to ſurrender: Krummau yielded, but Budweiſs obſtinately reſiſted his attacks.

The Emperor now began to diſplay activity and reſolution in his operations. Bucquoi and Dampierre, at the head of two armies, fell into Bohemia, which they treated as an enemy's country: but the Imperial generals found the road to Prague was attended with more difficulties than they expected; every paſs and poſition they were obliged to gain by force, and the reſiſtance was increaſed by the outrages of their troops, conſiſting principally of Walloons and Hungarians, which converted their friends into enemies. But while his troops entered Bohemia, the Emperor was ſtill inclined to pa-

cific meaſures. The rebels were excited by new hopes. The ſtates of Moravia eſpouſed their cauſe; and in the perſon of Count Manſfeld there aroſe among them a protector equally intrepid and unexpected.

The leaders of the Evangelic Union had beheld the commotions of the Bohemians with ſilence, but not with inactivity: both had to contend in the ſame cauſe, and againſt the ſame enemy; their fate was united with that of the Bohemians, and the cauſe of that people was repreſented as that of all the German Proteſtants. True to this principle, the rebels were encouraged in their preſumption, and a fortunate circumſtance enabled them to fulfil their hopes.

Peter Erneſt Count Mansfeld, the ſon of an Auſtrian officer of merit, who had ſerved with diſtinction in the Spaniſh army in Flanders, was the inſtrument of terror to the Auſtrian power in Germany. He had ſerved his firſt campaigns under the Archduke Leopold, in Juliers and in Alſace, againſt the Proteſtant religion: but, gradually gained by the principles of this doctrine, or the anarchy which it ſeemed to encourage, he deſerted a general who

who did not reward him according to his services, and attached himſelf with zeal to the Proteſtant faith. He was favoured by a war which the Duke of Savoy, an ally of the Union, was deſirous of commencing with Spain. An army of four thouſand men was raiſed at the expenſe of this Duke, to aſſiſt the members of the Union in Germany. Nothing could be more agreeable to the Bohemians than to be aſſiſted by troops ſupported at foreign expenſe. Mansfeld received orders to lead this army into Bohemia, and a maniſeſto previouſly iſſued concealed their deſtination.

Mansfeld now appeared in Bohemia, and by taking poſſeſſion of Pilſen, a town formidable by its ſtrength, and in the Emperor's intereſt, firmly eſtabliſhed himſelf in that kingdom. The courage of the rebels was increaſed by ſuccours they received from Saxony. Between theſe and the Imperial troops there were ſome ſkirmiſhes, which were a prelude to a more ſerious war. To check the vivacity of theſe operations, the interpoſition of Saxony was offered to the Emperor: but before this negotiation could be brought to a concluſion he died.

What

What had Matthias now done to fulfil what the expectations of the world, and the ruin of his predeceffor, required of him? Was it worth the pains to obtain Rodolph's throne with fo much trouble, and leave it with fo little renown? So long as Matthias was fovereign, he was obliged to make facrifices to the neceffities which had originally been the caufe of his promotion. To enjoy the regal dignity fome years fooner, he had facrificed the independence of his throne; his immediate followers were confined to the authority which was left him by the ftates. Sickly and childlefs, he beheld a fucceffor who impatiently anticipated the confequences.

With Matthias the Auftrian line was in a manner extinct; for of all the fons of Maximilian, there lived only one, weak and childlefs, Archduke Albert, in the Netherlands, who had yielded his right of inheritance to the line of Gratz. Even the Court of Spain had privately refigned all its claims to the Auftrian territories in favour of the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, by which the race of Habfburg were to receive new ftrength in Germany, and the influence and power of Auftria a renewal.

Ferdinand was the ſon of the younger brother of Maximilian II. Archduke of Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia, and a princeſs of Bavaria. Having loſt his father at twelve years of age, his mother delivered him to her brother William, Duke of Bavaria, who had him educated at the academy of Ingoldſtadt, under the Jeſuits. The principles which he here imbibed from the converſation of a prince who had abdicated his government from motives of devotion, may be eaſily conceived. On the one ſide he was ſhown the deteſtation in which Maximilian held the new doctrines, and the confuſion which reigned among the Proteſtants; on the other ſide he was promiſed the affection of the Bavarians, and the zealous ſupport of its princes in the extirpation of hereſy. To the choice of either he muſt reſolve himſelf.

Formed in this ſchool to be a champion of the faith, and an inſtrument of the church, he left Bavaria after five years reſidence there, to take upon himſelf the adminiſtration of his hereditary dominions. The ſtates of Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia, who required him to confirm the toleration of their religion before they did homage, received for anſwer, that the former was wholly unconnected with the latter; the oath

oath of allegiance was unconditionally demanded, and actually taken. Several years, however, elapsed before he began to execute the schemes which he had formed at Ingoldstadt; he first had the precaution to offer up his devotions at the shrine of the Virgin Mary, at Loretto, and to obtain at Rome the benediction of Pope Clement VIII.

To expel the Protestants from a country where they formed the more numerous body, and where they were formerly tolerated by an edict of Ferdinand's father, must appear a tyrannical act; and so solemn a grant of toleration could not be repealed without danger: but this pupil of the Jesuits was to be deterred by no difficulties. The example of other states, both Catholic and Protestant, who exercised the right of making converts in their territories, and the manner in which the states of Styria abused the privilege of toleration, must justify this violent action. The rules of prudence and good sense, though even sanctioned by law, were disregarded. In prosecuting this unjust undertaking, it must be confessed that Ferdinand displayed an extraordinary courage and firmness; without having recourse to severe or cruel measures, he suppressed the Protestants in

in one city after another; and in a few years, to the astonishment of all Germany, brought his schemes to a conclusion.

But while admired by the Catholics as their champion and hero, the Protestants began to combine against him as their most formidable enemy. Matthias had met with little opposition from the states of Austria, and had received the crown of Bohemia under no very considerable restrictions; their attention was excited when they found the evil consequences of his measures as Emperor; and a number of projects in his hand-writing, which displayed no good will towards them, raised their consternation to the utmost: they were chiefly alarmed at a secret family compact with Spain, in which the Emperor had bequeathed to that crown, in default of male issue, the kingdom of Bohemia, without consulting the nation or regarding its elective rights. The numerous enemies which this prince had made himself by his reforms in Styria among the Protestants, were of the worst consequence to him in Bohemia; and several Styrians who had emigrated to this latter country were particularly active in exciting the flames of revolt. Thus ill affected did Ferdinand

dinand find the Bohemian people on his acceſſion.

So bad an underſtanding between the people and the candidate for the throne, would have raiſed a ſtorm in the moſt peaceable ſucceſſion, but much more at this period, when the nation had reſumed their dignity and aſſerted their native rights, and when, with arms in their hands, and encouraged by their internal union and by promiſes of foreign aſſiſtance, they aſſured themſelves of ſucceſs. Diſregarding Ferdinand's claims, they declared their throne vacant, and themſelves fully releaſed from their former election. No way of negotiation was left; and if Ferdinand was to poſſeſs the crown of Bohemia, it muſt be either at the expenſe of all the power which alone renders a crown acceptable, or he muſt conquer that kingdom by force of arms.

But means of conqueſt were not eaſily found in his convulſed dominions. Sileſia had joined in the inſurrection of Bohemia, and Moravia was prepared to follow its example; a ſtrong oppoſition prevailed in Upper and Lower Auſtria, whoſe ſtates declined doing homage; Hungary was threatened with an irruption by

 Bethlen

Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Tranſilvania; ſecret preparations among the Turks filled the eaſtern provinces with conſternation. To crown theſe misfortunes, the Proteſtants had made an inſurrection in his hereditary dominions. In theſe the Proteſtants formed the more numerous body, and they chiefly poſſeſſed the revenues by which Ferdinand was to carry on the war: the neutral became irreſolute, the faithful ſubjects were diſcouraged, and reſolution adhered only to the turbulent; one half of Germany encouraged the rebels, the other calmly awaited the event. Spaniſh aid was diſtant; the preſent moment menaced him with ruin, and he was threatened with the vengeance of injured freedom in the height of its ſucceſs.

Preſſed by neceſſity, he now made offers of peace to the Bohemians, which they rejected with diſdain. Count Thurn, at the head of an army, entered Moravia to bring the reſolutions of this country, which alone ſtill ſeemed to waver, to a deciſion. The appearance of an enemy was to the Moravian Proteſtants the ſignal of rebellion; Bruenn was taken, the whole country yielded, and both government and religion were changed throughout the province. The inſurrection made rapid ſtrides in

Upper

Upper Auſtria, where a powerful party favoured it. "There was to be in future no diſtinction "between religions; both ſhould be on an "equal footing: a foreign force was raiſing to "oppreſs the Bohemians; they would be aveng- "ed, and purſue the enemies of liberty to the "utmoſt limits of the earth." Such was the tone held out; not an arm was raiſed in the Arckduke's defence, and the rebels at length encamped before Vienna, in order to beſiege their ſovereign.

Ferdinand had ſent his children from Gratz, where they were no longer ſafe, to Tirol; he himſelf awaited the inſurgents in his capital. A handful of troops was all he could oppoſe to the enraged multitude, neither could any dependence be placed in theſe, being in want of pay, and even of bread. Vienna could not be expected to ſuſtain a long ſiege; the Proteſtants formed the ſtrongeſt party in the town, and were ready to join the Bohemians; thoſe of the country had begun to aſſemble troops. The people already thought they ſaw the Emperor ſhut up in a monaſtery, his territories divided, and his children become Proteſtants. Betrayed by private, and ſurrounded by open enemies, he hourly ſaw a more dangerous abyſs

before him. The Bohemians fired upon the Imperial palace, which was forcibly entered by ſixteen Auſtrian Barons, who endeavoured to extort the Emperor's conſent to a confederacy with the rebels of Bohemia. One of theſe proceeded ſo far as to ſeize him by the button of his waiſtcoat, and aſked, "*Ferdinand, wilt thou ſign it?*"

Who could be cenſured for yielding under ſuch deſperate circumſtances? But Ferdinand reflected on his dignity. No alternative remained for him but flight or deceit; to the one he was adviſed by men of ſenſe, to the other by prieſts. By abandoning Vienna, it fell into the hands of his enemies; Auſtria was loſt, and with it the Imperial throne; Ferdinand would not leave his capital, and yet ſcorned to liſten to an accommodation. It muſt be confeſſed that his conduct upon this occaſion did honour to the Jeſuits, who inſpired him with ſuch ſentiments in his youth.

The Archduke was engaged in an altercation with the deputed Barons when the trumpets ſounded on a ſudden in the palace-yard; the conſternation was univerſal, a dreadful report overſpread the palace, the deputies fled one after

after the other, and many of the nobility were ſeen taking refuge in Thurn's camp. This important change was effected by a regiment of Dampierre's cuiraſſiers, who entered the city to defend the perſon of the Archduke; they were ſoon followed by infantry, and by many Catholic citizens encouraged by this reinforcement; even the ſtudents armed themſelves. To a report which ſpread beyond Bohemia he owed his ſafety; the Flemiſh general, Bucquoi, had totally defeated Count Mansfeld at Budweiſs, and was proceeding againſt Prague. The Bohemians now ſpeedily broke up their camp, to ſave their capital.

The paſſes of which the enemy had taken poſſeſſion, to prevent Ferdinand from proceeding to his coronation at Frankfort, were now abandoned. The poſſeſſion of the Imperial throne was never of ſo much conſequence to the King of Hungary as at preſent, when the title of Emperor added dignity to his perſon, ſeemed to juſtify his cauſe, and to promiſe him ſuccour from the Empire. But the ſame cabal which oppoſed him in his hereditary dominions, alſo purſued him in canvaſſing for the Imperial authority; it was reſolved that no Auſtrian prince ſhould mount the Emperor's throne, at

 leaſt

leaſt Ferdinand, the determined enemy of the Proteſtant religion, the ſlave of Spain, and of the Jeſuits. To prevent this, even during the life of Matthias, the Imperial throne had been offered to the Duke of Bavaria, and on his declining it to the Duke of Savoy. As the conditions could not be ſo readily ſettled with the latter, it was reſolved to delay his election until ſome deciſive blow was ſtruck in Bohemia or Auſtria, which would annihilate all the hopes of Ferdinand, and incapacitate him for this dignity. The members of the Union made great efforts to attach Saxony, which was in the Auſtrian intereſt, to themſelves, and to repreſent to this court the dangers with which the Emperor's principles and his Spaniſh alliance threatened both the Proteſtant religion and the conſtitution of the Empire. By promoting the acceſſion of Ferdinand to the Imperial throne, they ſaid he eſpouſed that prince's private quarrel, and drew on himſelf the indignation of Bohemia. But notwithſtanding all oppoſition, the election of Ferdinand was reſolved, as lawful King of Bohemia, and his vote in the College of Electors declared valid, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Bohemians. He was maſter of the three eccleſiaſtical voices, and even Saxony favoured him; Brandenburg did

not oppoſe him, and by a plurality of voices he was elected Emperor in 1619. The moſt uncertain of all his crowns he at length obtained, but only to loſe it in a few days after he had thought it the beſt ſecured of all his poſſeſſions. While crowned Emperor at Frankfort, in Prague he abdicated the Bohemian throne.

Almoſt all his German dominions now entered into a formidable confederacy with the Bohemians, whoſe violence exceeded all reaſonable bounds. On the 17th of Auguſt 1619, a general diet formally declared the Emperor an enemy to the Bohemian religion and liberty, by his pernicious counſels to the late King, his furniſhing troops to invade them, introducing foreigners to ravage the country; and by his late contempt of the national independence in entering into a ſecret compact with Spain, to have forfeited all title to the crown; and proceeded to a new election. As this revolution was made by Proteſtants, the choice of a ſovereign could not fall upon Catholic princes; though, to ſave appearance, and diminiſh, if poſſible, the number of their enemies, Bavaria and Savoy had ſome votes in their favour. But the violent animoſities which divided the Calviniſts and Lutherans, rendered the

the election, even of a Proteſtant king, for a conſiderable time difficult, until at length the activity and addreſs of the Calviniſts prevailed over their Lutheran antagoniſts.

Among the princes who had any pretenſions to this dignity, the Elector Palatine, Frederic V. had the greateſt claim to the confidence and gratitude of the Bohemians; and there was no other under whoſe adminiſtration individual intereſts could ſo effectually promote themſelves. Frederic V. poſſeſſed a lively diſpoſition, uncommon goodneſs of heart, and great munificence; he was at the head of the Union in Germany, the leaders of which were at his diſpoſal; a near relative to the Elector of Bavaria, againſt whoſe dangerous neighbourhood he might poſſibly ſecure the country, and a ſon-in-law to the King of Great Britain, who could powerfully ſupport him. All theſe advantages were ſeized by the Calviniſts, and Frederic V. was elected and ſolemnly inveſted with the crown of Bohemia.

The proceedings of the diet of Prague were premeditated, and Frederic had been too active to receive their offers with ſurpriſe; nevertheleſs the immediate weight of a crown intimidated

dated him, and the double extent of his elevation and his misdemeanour shook his pusillanimity.

After the usual example of weak souls, he was willing to learn the opinions of foreign powers on this attempt; yet still he yielded to his passions. Saxony and Bavaria, which he consulted together with all his brother electors, warned him against the danger to which he exposed himself; even his father-in-law, King James of England, rather chose to have him deprived of a crown, than to offend the sacred majesty of kings by so bad an example.

But prudential considerations were of little weight against passion and a sense of honour. After rejecting a race which had governed them for two centuries, a powerful nation had placed him at their head; confident in his resolution, they had chosen him as their leader in the dangerous career of fame and liberty; the adherents of an oppressed religion expected from him favour and protection. Could he in such circumstances betray apprehension, and abandon the cause both of religion and freedom? This nation displayed to him their strength, and the weakness of their enemies; two-thirds

of

of its force armed againſt Auſtria, and a formidable confederacy appeared ready in Tranſilvania to employ its remaining ſtrength. Were not theſe proſpects calculated to excite his ambitious views, and ſuch hopes to inſpire him with reſolution?

A few moments of reflection would, however, have ſufficed to inſtruct him in the greatneſs of his attempt and the ſmallneſs of its reward; but encouragement inflamed his ambition, and the conſequences did not appear to his prudence. It was his misfortune, that his moſt intimate friends only excited his paſſions; the aggrandizement of their ſovereign's power gave his Palatine ſervants a wide field for extortion; the triumph of his church inflamed every Calviniſt with enthuſiaſm. It was alſo natural that ſo weak a mind ſhould yield to the flattery of his counſellors, who conſtantly magnified his authority and leſſened that of his enemy; the exhortations of his chaplains perſuaded him that the impulſe of their fanatical zeal proceeded immediately from heaven; aſtrological reveries filled him with chimerical hopes, and he was even ſeduced from the rules of prudence by the invincible force of love. "You have eſpouſed the daughter of a king,"

 ſaid

ſaid his Electreſs to him, "and yet ſcruple to "accept a throne which is unanimouſly offered "to you; for my part, I would rather eat "plain bread at a royal, than feaſt ſumptuouſly "at an electoral table *."

Frederic accepted the crown of Bohemia; his coronation was celebrated at Prague with unexampled pomp, and the nation diſplayed all its riches to honour its own work. Sileſia and Moravia followed the example of Bohemia, and yielded homage to the new king. The Reformation overſpread the country, the rejoicings were boundleſs, and their reſpect for their new ſovereign approached nearly to adoration. Denmark and Sweden, Holland and Venice, with ſeveral German ſtates, acknowledged him as legitimate ſovereign, and Frederic prepared to maintain his new crown.

His greateſt expectations were placed on Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Tranſilvania. This formidable enemy of Auſtria and of the Catholic religion, not ſatisfied with having wreſted his

* Theſe were the ſentiments which ſhe imbibed at the court of her father, James I.; ſentiments he could inſpire, but would not ſupport her in; and he ſhamefully abandoned her to her fate. *Tranſ.*

prin-

principality, by the aid of the Turks, from its lawful prince, Gabriel Bathori, embraced this opportunity with eagerneſs to aggrandize himſelf at the expenſe of the Emperor, who refuſed to acknowledge him as ſovereign of Tranſilvania. An attack upon Hungary and Auſtria was concerted with the Bohemian rebels, when both armies were to have marched to the capital. In the mean time Gabor concealed the true motive of his warlike preparations under the maſk of friendſhip; and artfully promiſed the Emperor, under the appearance of aſſiſting them, to lead the Bohemians into a ſnare, and deliver up their leaders alive to him.

On a ſudden the enemy entered Upper Hungary, preceded by terror and followed by devaſtation; every thing yielded before him, and he even received the crown of Hungary at Preſburg. The Emperor's brother, governor of Vienna, trembled for the ſafety of that capital; without delay he called General Bucquoi to his aſſiſtance. The abſence of the Imperialiſts brought the Bohemian army a ſecond time before Vienna; reinforced by 12,000 Tranſilvanians, and ſoon after joined by the victorious troops of Bethlen Gabor, it threatened Vienna anew. The country was laid waſte to the gates of that city,

city, the navigation of the Danube clofed, fupplies cut off, and the terrors of a famine were foon felt. Ferdinand, whom the impending danger had haftened back to his capital, faw himfelf a fecond time at the brink of deftruction; a fcarcity of provifions, and the inclemency of the weather, at length compelled the Bohemians to difperfe. A check in Hüngary recalled Bethlen Gabor, and fortune faved the Emperor a fecond time.

In a fhort period the fcene was changed; Ferdinand improved by an active prudence the fituation of his affairs; while Frederic, by indolence and impolitic meafures, deftroyed his own. The ftates of Lower Auftria were, by a confirmation of their privileges, induced to return to their allegiance; fuch as refufed were outlawed, and declared guilty of high treafon. By degrees the Emperor obtained a firm footing in his hereditary dominions, and then neglected no effort to procure foreign affiftance; he had already, at the coronation at Frankfort, received the verbal affurance of the ecclefiaftical electors, and that of Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, at Munich, to efpoufe his caufe. The fate of Ferdinand and of Frederic depended upon the fhare which the League

League and the Union would take in this war. It appeared to be the intereſt of all the Proteſtants in Germany to ſupport the Bohemian King; the Catholics were equally intereſted in maintaining the Emperor's authority from ruin: by prevailing in Bohemia, the Proteſtants would inſpire all the eccleſiaſtical princes in Germany with terror; by their defeat, the Emperor would be enabled to dictate to the Proteſtant powers of the Empire. Ferdinand, therefore, put the League, and Frederic the Union, in motion. The near alliance and perſonal attachment which the Duke of Bavaria bore the Emperor, his brother-in-law, with whom he was educated at Ingoldſtadt; zeal for the Catholic church, which was apparently in danger; the inſinuations of the Jeſuits, joined to the ſuſpicious proceedings of the Union, induced the former, together with all the princes of the League, to eſpouſe the Emperor's quarrel.

After having regulated the future grant of ſupplies for carrying on the war, and the indemnification of all loſſes, Maximilian aſſumed the unlimited command of the army of the League, which was put in motion to aſſiſt the Emperor againſt the rebels of Bohemia.

The

The leaders of the Union, inſtead of endeavouring to prevent the League from uniting with the Emperor, on the contrary promoted it. If they could bring the League to take part in the war of Bohemia, it was but juſt they ſhould follow the example; without the open hoſtility of the Catholics againſt the Union, the Proteſtants could expect to form no effectual confederacy. They choſe the important conjuncture of the Bohemian league to demand redreſs from the Catholics for the grievances under which they had laboured, and an entire toleration of their religion. Theſe demands, made in a deciſive tone, were levelled againſt the Duke of Bavaria, who was at the head of the Catholics, and they required an immediate and deciſive anſwer. Whether Maximilian declared for or againſt them, their point was gained; his conceſſion deprived the Catholics of their moſt powerful ſupporter, his refuſal armed the entire Proteſtant party, and rendered inevitable a war by which they hoped to attain their ends. Maximilian, firmly attached to the oppoſite party, took their demands as a formal declaration of war, and haſtened hoſtilities. While Bavaria and the Catholics were now in arms for the Emperor, applications were made to Spain for ſubſidies; the difficulties

ties which were caufed in this negotiation by the indolence of the Spanifh miniftry, were fortunately furmounted by the Imperial ambaffador at Madrid, Count Kevenhuller. Befides a fupply of a million of florins, which were obtained gradually from that Court, it was refolved at the fame time to attack the Lower Palatinate from the Spanifh Netherlands.

While they endeavoured to draw into the League all the Catholic powers, the Proteftants laboured with equal zeal to augment their confederacy. The Elector of Saxony and feveral other Proteftant ftates imagined it was the intention of the League to deprive them of the fecularized chapters. The former was, however, pacified by a written affurance from Auftria to the contrary, and he was already inclined towards the latter caufe, from his private jealoufy of the Palatine Elector, the exhortations of his chaplain, who was in the pay of Auftria, and the mortification of not being fet up a candidate for the crown of Bohemia. The fanaticifm of the Lutherans could never forgive fo many extenfive territories for having embraced Calvinifm, and fubftituted the Helvetian Antichrift for the Roman.

While Ferdinand made every effort to ameliorate his condition, Frederic acted in the very oppofite manner. By his clofe connexion with the Prince of Tranfilvania, the avowed ally of the Turks, he afforded a caufe of jealoufy to weak minds; and he was accufed of gratifying his ambition at the expenfe of Chriftendom, and arming the Turks againft Germany. His blind zeal for Calvinifm was difagreeable to the Lutherans in Bohemia, while his deftruction of their images incenfed the Papifts of that kingdom againft him; new impofts loft him the affection of the people; the difappointed ambition of the Bohemian nobles abated their zeal in his caufe, and the want of foreign aid rendered them more circumfpect. Inftead of devoting his time to the adminiftration, Frederic deftined it to his amufements; inftead of augmenting his treafure by a prudent economy, he lavifhed his revenues in theatrical pomp and ill directed largeffes; his new dignity infpired him with a carelefs levity, and in the intoxication of fuccefs he neglected to fecure the poffeffion of his crown.

So much were men difappointed in their expectations of him, and fo much did he deceive himfelf with the hope of foreign affiftance!

ance! Moſt of the members of the Union were diverted from its original intent by the occurrences in Bohemia; others were overawed by the Emperor. Ferdinand had gained over Saxony and Heſſe Darmſtadt to his party; Lower Auſtria, whence the greateſt diverſion was expected, ſubmitted to the Emperor; Bethlen Gabor concluded a truce with him; the Court of Vienna, by means of embaſſies, ſucceeded in prevailing on the Danes to remain inactive, and Sweden was occupied by a war in Poland. The Dutch republic with difficulty ſupported itſelf againſt the Spaniſh arms; Venice and Savoy remained inactive; King James of England was over-reached by the artifice of Spain. Friends and hopes vaniſhed, the one after the other. So rapid was the alteration in the ſpace of a few months!

Meanwhile the leaders of the Union aſſembled their army, and thoſe of the League followed their example. The troops of the latter were at Donauwerth, under the orders of the Duke of Bavaria; thoſe of the Union at Ulm, under the Margrave of Anſpach. The deciſive moment appeared at length to have arrived when the diviſions of the Empire would be terminated by a deciſive battle, and the future

condition

condition of both religions irrevocably ſettled; the expectations of all parties were raiſed to the utmoſt. How much were men aſtoniſhed when the news of peace arrived, and both armies diſbanded without ſtriking a blow!

The mediation of France effected this peace, which was equally acceptable to both parties. The French miniſtry, no longer directed by a Henry the Great, whoſe maxims were not, perhaps, adapted to the preſent condition of that monarchy, now feared the increaſing power of Auſtria much leſs than that of the Calviniſts, if the Elector Palatine remained on the throne of Bohemia. England being engaged in a dangerous conteſt with its own Calviniſt ſubjects, it had no nearer view than the ſuppreſſion of the Proteſtants in Bohemia, before the Hugonots ſhould follow the example of that party. To facilitate the conqueſt of Bohemia to Ferdinand, it had interpoſed its mediation, and obtained an unexpected treaty, the chief article of which was, "That the Union ſhould "renounce all interference in the tranſactions "of Bohemia, and confine the aid which they "were to afford Frederic V. to his Palatine "territories." The Duke of Bavaria's firmneſs, and their apprehenſions of an army of

Spaniards, which was on its march from the Netherlands, prevailed upon the leaders of the Union to conclude this ſhameful treaty.

The Emperor was now at liberty to employ the whole force of Bavaria and of the League againſt the Bohemians, who, by the pacification of Ulm, were abandoned to their fate. By a rapid movement, and before intelligence of this treaty could arrive there, the Duke of Bavaria appeared in Lower Auſtria, where the ſtates, aſtoniſhed, and prepared for no enemy, purchaſed the Emperor's favour by an immediate and unlimited ſubmiſſion. Here he called the troops of the Low Countries, under Count Bucquoi, to his aſſiſtance; and this united Imperial-Bavarian army, 50,000 men ſtrong, immediately fell into Bohemia. They drove before them all the Bohemian parties which were ſpread over Lower Auſtria and Moravia; every town that attempted reſiſtance was taken by ſtorm; and the reſt, from fear of chaſtiſement, voluntarily ſubmitted. The Duke's progreſs was uninterrupted; the Bohemian army, commanded by the brave Prince Chriſtian of Anhalt, retired to the neighbourhood of Prague, where the Duke of Bavaria gave them battle.

The

The bad condition in which he expected to find the army of the rebels, justified this rapidity in the Duke's motions, and assured him the victory. Frederic had not assembled 30,000 men; the Prince of Anhalt brought 8000, and Bethlen Gabor 10,000 men to his assistance. An irruption of the Elector of Saxony into Lusatia had deprived him of the succour which he expected from that country and from Silesia, to enable him to subdue Austria; Bethlen Gabor, his most powerful ally, remained tranquil, the Union having betrayed him to the Emperor. Frederic had nothing remaining but Bohemia, and this kingdom wanted fidelity, union, and courage; the Bohemian rebels were offended at being subjected to German generals, and Count Mansfeld remained in Pilsen, at a distance from the camp, to avoid the mortification of serving under Anhalt and Hohenlo. The soldiers, in want of necessaries, lost courage, and loud complaints were made by the inhabitants of their want of subordination. It was in vain that Frederic made his appearance in the camp to inspire the nobles by his example.

The Bohemians began to intrench themselves on the White Mountain near Prague, when the

the united Imperial-Bavarian armies attacked them on the 8th of November 1620. In the beginning of the action ſome advantages were obtained by the Prince of Anhalt's cavalry, but theſe were ſoon counterbalanced by the ſuperior numbers of the enemy; the ſhock of the Bavarians and Walloons was irreſiſtible, and the Hungarian horſe were the firſt who abandoned the field of battle; their example was followed by the Bohemian infantry, and the Germans were at length drawn into univerſal confuſion; ten cannon, in which conſiſted all Frederic's artillery, fell into the enemy's hands; four thouſand Bohemians were killed upon the ſpot; only a few hundred Imperialiſts and troops of the League fell. In leſs than an hour this deciſive battle was ended *.

* With this battle terminated for ever the liberties of Bohemia. It is to be remarked, that this people, who had ſhown ſo early an attachment to civil and religious liberty, are now the moſt ſlaviſh in the Emperor's dominions: ſo much does oppreſſion degrade the mind! Their misfortune was, not to have elected for king a prince of Saxony, inſtead of the timid Frederic. It is alſo to be remarked, that this people, ſo ſtupidly obedient, form at this day the beſt diſciplined and the moſt intrepid ſoldiers in the Auſtrian army. Habits of obedience to their lords, and veneration for their ſovereign, ſupply the place of patriotiſm. *Tranſ.*

Frederic

Frederic beheld from Prague the defeat of his army. Apprehenſive of no attack, he had on this day ordered an entertainment; he was at length arouſed on beholding the ſlaughter of his troops. He requeſted a ceſſation of hoſtilities for twenty-four hours: eight was all the Duke of Bavaria would grant him. Frederic took advantage of theſe to fly from Prague in the night, accompanied by his queen and the chiefs of his army; their departure was effected in ſuch haſte, that the Prince of Anhalt forgot his private papers, and Frederic his crown. "I know not what I am," ſaid that unfortunate prince to thoſe who adminiſtered conſolation to him: "there are virtues which we are "taught by adverſity, and it is only from "misfortune that we princes acquire a know-"ledge of our own characters."

Prague was not yet totally loſt without Frederic's puſillanimity; Mansfeld's corps was ſtill at Pilſen, and was not engaged in the action; Bethlen was enabled to commence hoſtilities, and draw the Emperor's army to the borders of Hungary; the vanquiſhed Bohemians could recover themſelves; ſickneſs, hunger, and the inclemency of the weather, might defeat

the enemy: but these hopes were extinguished by the immediate consternation.

Frederic dreaded the inconstancy of the Bohemians, who, by the delivery of his person, might be tempted to seek the Emperor's pardon.

Thurn, and those of his party who were equally obnoxious, found it imprudent to await their destiny within the walls of Prague. They took refuge in Moravia, and soon after in Transilvania. Frederic fled to Breslau, where, after remaining a short time, he removed to the court of the Elector of Brandenburg, and from thence to Holland.

The battle of Prague had decided the fate of Bohemia. Prague surrendered the next day to the conquerors, and its example was followed by the remaining towns of the kingdom. The states yielded unconditionally; Moravia and Silesia followed their example. The Emperor suffered three months to elapse before he took cognisance of past events. Many of those who had fled in the beginning now appeared in the capital, full of confidence in this apparent clemency: but the storm suddenly arose;

forty-eight of the principal rebels were arrefted and tried before an extraordinary commiffion, compofed of native Auftrians and Bohemians; twenty-feven expired on the fcaffold; an incredible number of the common people were executed. The emigrated were cited to appear; and as they did not prefent themfelves, they were declared guilty of high treafon, condemned to death, their eftates confifcated, and their names affixed to the gallows: the eftates of deceafed rebels were even confifcated: this was, however, the more tolerable, becaufe the plunder of one individual enriched another. But oppreffion was extended to the whole kingdom, and foon after to the whole Empire, from which both the Proteftant parties were expelled. Ferdinand tore the *letter of majefty* with his own hand, and burned the feal. Seven years after the battle of Prague every indulgence was withdrawn from the Bohemian Proteftants. But while fo fevere againft their religion, he was referved towards their civil conftitution, and he magnanimoufly permitted the Bohemians to tax themfelves.

The victory of Prague put Ferdinand in poffeffion of all his dominions, and even increafed his authority beyond that of his predeceffors. By

By it his deſires were gratified beyond his moſt ſanguine expectations.

It was now in his power to diſmiſs his allies, and his army. At all events the war was at an end: and, if juſt and merciful, he would deſiſt from oppreſſion. The fate of Germany was now in his hands, and the happineſs or miſery of many millions of people depended upon the meaſures he would follow. But the intoxication of ſucceſs never cauſed more dreadful conſequences.

BOOK II.

THE refolution which Ferdinand now embraced changed both the direction and the fcene of the war. From a war in Bohemia, and the chaftifement of the rebels, its flames were foon extended to Germany, and fpeedily after to all Europe. It may not be improper, at this period, to take a view of the ftate of affairs in the Empire, and in the reft of Europe.

The Catholics and Proteftants were fo divided in Germany, that each party required the clofeft union to maintain itfelf againft the other. If the Catholics were the more numerous party, and the moft favoured by the conftitution of the Empire, the Proteftants had the advantage of poffeffing a more compact and populous territory, able princes, large armies, flourifhing free cities, together with the command of the fea, befides, at the worft extremity,

tremity, being ſecure of a ſtrong ſupport in the Catholic countries. Should the Catholics arm Spain and Italy in their favour, the Proteſtants could call to their aid the republics of Holland and Venice, the northern powers, and the more formidable one of the Turks. Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate oppoſed three Proteſtant votes to three Catholic electorates, and the character of Emperor was a check upon the electorate of Bohemia, if the Proteſtants thought proper to exert their ſtrength. The power of the Union might eaſily counterbalance that of the League, or, if a war actually broke out, render its iſſue doubtful. But private diſſenſions deſtroyed the political union which the Proteſtant ſtates had formed among themſelves. The critical moment was neglected, becauſe thoſe who had the courage to profit by it wanted power, and thoſe who poſſeſſed ability wanted vigour.

By the merits of his anceſtor Maurice, the extent of his territories, and the weight of his influence, the Elector of Saxony was naturally regarded as the head of the Proteſtants in Germany. On his influence depended the deciſion of the victory which either party was to obtain: neither was John George, the preſent Elector, inſenſible

infenfible to the advantages which his prefent fituation might obtain. He openly rejected a neutrality between both parties, determined to devote himfelf entirely to one, and either, by declaring for the Emperor, to attach that prince to him from motives of gratitude, or by an oppofite conduct to intimidate him. Governed neither by that religious or romantic enthufiafm which led fo many fovereigns to rifk both their lives and authority, John George wifely adopted prudential maxims of policy. He was accufed of betraying the caufe of the Proteftants; of having preferred the aggrandizement of his own power to the fafety of his country; of having expofed all the Proteftants of Germany, from hatred to the Calvinifts; and, by his fufpicious conduct, of having caufed them more evil than by his open enmity. But the princes who made thofe complaints were imprudent in not purfuing the politics of this Elector. If the Saxons deplored the cruelties which attended the Emperor's progrefs, if all Germany faw how Ferdinand deceived his allies and violated his promifes, if the Elector himfelf at length perceived it, it was the more fhameful for the Emperor to abufe the confidence placed in him.

While

While the Elector of Saxony was restrained within bounds by his too great reliance on the House of Austria, and his hopes of increasing his dominions, the fear of Austria, and the apprehensions of losing his electorate, retained the weak George William of Brandenburg in a disgraceful awe. The Elector Palatine had even by his ruin preserved himself and his people from the reproaches which were made to both those princes. Rash expectations, a vain reliance on his strength, and the alluring prospect of a crown, had impelled that unfortunate prince to an undertaking to which neither his genius nor his power were equal. By the division of his territories, and the bad understanding of his servants, the power of the Palatinate was enfeebled, which, under proper direction, might have still rendered the war a long time doubtful.

Even this participation of his territories also hurt the princes of Hesse, by the enmity which their difference of religion caused between the Houses of Cassel and Darmstadt. The latter adhered to the confession of Augsburg, and put itself under the Emperor's protection, who favoured it at the expense of the Calvinists of Cassel. While the adherents of his religion

ſought for liberty of conſcience, George Landgrave of Darmſtadt received ſubſidies from the Emperor. But true to the principles of his anceſtor, who a century before ventured to defend the liberties of Germany againſt the formidable Charles V. William Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel embraced the cauſe of honour and of danger. Superior to the puſillanimity which retained ſo many more powerful princes in awe of the Emperor, William was the firſt who dared to join the Swedes, and offered to the German princes an example which none were inclined to imitate. His reſolution was equalled by his perſeverance, and ſupported by the heroiſm of his actions. With the boldeſt reſolution he bid defiance to an enemy which had already triumphed over Magdeburg.

This Landgrave has fair claims to immortality. The day of vengeance muſt be ſlowly awaited by the never-to-be-forgotten prince John Frederic. But finally did that day arrive. His principles at length ſucceeded, and his heroic ſpirit was inherited by his grandſon. An intrepid race of princes came from the Thuringian foreſts to vindicate his injured reputation, and his loſs of the electoral dignity. The ſentence of his enemy could deprive him of his dominion,

dominion, but not of that patriotic ſpirit and romantic courage which a century afterwards inſpired his grandſon. His animoſity againſt the race of Habſburg was bequeathed by him to his poſterity. The duty which they could not fulfil as *princes* they executed as *men*, and died in a glorious cauſe—the braveſt champions of liberty. Too weak to bring their own armies into the field, they ſhowed to thoſe of foreign powers the road to victory againſt their enemies.

The German liberties, abandoned by the ſtates who were moſt concerned in their preſervation, were defended by a few princes who were ſcarce intereſted in the event. Power produced indolence; neceſſity formed heroes. While Saxony, Brandenburg, &c. ſhowed ſigns of fear, Anhalt, Mansfeld, the Princes of Weimar, and others, were ſeen to riſk their perſons in bloody battles. The Dukes of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Lunenburg, Wirtemburg, and the free cities of Upper Germany, overawed by the Emperor's power, avoided the conteſt, and quietly ſubmitted to him.

Auſtria, and the Catholic party in Germany, poſſeſſed, in the perſon of the Duke of Bavaria,

a defender equally powerful and prudent. Attentive during the whole courſe of the war to a fixed plan, never divided between his religion and his political intereſts, Maximilian owed to it the authority and acceſſion of territory, for which he was not indebted to fortune. The other Catholic ſtates, principally eccleſiaſtical princes, too unwarlike to reſiſt the fanatical opinions which prevailed in their territories, were contented to perſecute in the cabinet and the pulpit thoſe whom they durſt not oppoſe in the field. Slaves to Auſtria or Bavaria, they all vaniſhed before this prince; and it was only in the hand of Maximilian that their power was of any conſequence.

The formidable monarchy which Charles V. and his ſon had unnaturally united, compriſing the Netherlands, Milan, both Sicilies, and the extenſive Eaſt and Weſt Indian poſſeſſions, began to decline under Philip III. and IV. Exalted by fruitleſs treaſure, this power ſlowly degenerated, when deprived of the radical ſupport of ſtates — agriculture. Its conqueſts in the Weſt Indies reduced Spain to poverty, while the bankers of Antwerp, Venice, and Genoa, negotiated with the gold which was ſtill buried in the mines of Peru. India depo-

 pulated

pulated the Spanifh monarchy; its treafures had the fame confequences in endeavouring to reconquer Holland, in the chimerical plan of changing the French fucceffion, and in an unfortunate attempt upon England *. But the pride of this court had furvived its power, and its animofity, the dread of its enemies. The diftruft which the Proteftants entertained of Philip III. and the reliance which the latter placed on Spanifh affiftance, excited among the Catholics the greateft confidence. Outward fplendour concealed the inward weaknefs of this monarchy, and its felf-importance was fuftained by the high tone which it ftill held. Slaves in their palaces, and even ftrangers upon their own throne, the nominal kings of Spain prefcribed laws for their German relations; and it may be doubted whether their fupport was worth the ftate of dependance by which the Emperor purchafed it. On the other fide of the Pyrenean mountains ignorant monks decided the fate of Europe. But under every difadvantage, a power muft ftill be formidable which in extent yielded to none in Europe, which ftedfaftly perfevered in the fame fyftem of policy, poffeffed excellent troops and confummate generals, and where

* The Spanifh Armada. *Tranf.*

open

open force could not reach, would not ſcruple to employ the aſſaſſin's dagger, and convert its very ambaſſadors into incendiaries. What it loſt in three quarters of the globe it now ſought to recover to the eaſtward; and all Europe lay at its mercy, if its junction with the hereditary dominions of Auſtria between the Alps and the Adriatic ſea could be effected.

This formidable power had introduced itſelf into that country, and its open ſteps towards aggrandiſement cauſed the neighbouring ſovereigns to tremble for the ſafety of their dominions. The Pope himſelf was in the moſt dangerous ſituation, having the Spaniſh viceroy of Naples on one ſide, and that of Milan on the other; Venice was ſurrounded by Auſtrian Tyrol and Spaniſh Milan; and Savoy was alarmed at the vicinity of the latter, and of France. Hence aroſe the doubtful and variable ſyſtem of politics which the Italian government purſued ſince the reign of Charles V. The double capacity of the popedom was obliged to follow different ſyſtems. If the Pope, as ſucceſſor of St. Peter, found the utmoſt ſupport in the crown of Spain, yet, as a ſovereign, he had in this ſame power the moſt dangerous neighbour. If in the one capacity he was inte-

 reſted

refted in the deftruction of the Proteftant religion, and in beholding Auftria triumphant, in the other he muft rejoice at the fucceffes of the Proteftants, which deprived a dangerous neighbour of the power of doing him injury. The one or the other fentiment prevailed, according as the Popes were embarraffed by their fpiritual or temporal interefts; but Rome's policy was generally directed to avert immediate danger: and it is generally acknowledged, that mankind are more excited in maintaining immediate than regaining loft poffeffions. This explains the motive of the Pope's favouring both the Emperor and the Proteftaant party. How uncommon are the features of human hiftory! What would have been the fate of the Reformation, and the liberty of the German princes, if the Pope, as bifhop and fovereign, had united both his fpiritual and temporal interefts?

France, with its great Henry, had loft its political weight in the general fyftem of Europe. A turbulent minority had deftroyed all the good effects of the preceding reign. Weak minifters, the creatures of intrigue and court favour, fquandered in a few years the treafures which the economy of Sully and Henry IV. had collected. Scarce able to contain themfelves

againft

againſt interior factions, they were neceſſitated to relinquiſh European politics. The ſame civil commotions which raged in Germany alſo prevailed in France; and Louis XIII. at his majority, found himſelf engaged not only in a war with his Proteſtant ſubjects, but even with his own mother. The French Proteſtants, held in ſubjection by Henry's enlightened policy, now ſeized upon the opportunity of taking up arms, and, under ſome reſolute leaders, formed a party, of which they fixed upon the important town of Rochelle as the capital. Not poſſeſſing ſagacity ſufficient to ſtifle thoſe religious diſſenſions by a toleration at their birth, and not ſufficiently maſter of his dominions to carry on a war with effect, Louis XIII. ſoon found himſelf under the humiliating neceſſity of purchaſing the ſubmiſſion of the inſurgents by money. Though led by policy to ſupport the rebels of Bohemia againſt Auſtria, Henry IV.'s ſon muſt behold quietly their ruin; ſufficiently fortunate in preventing his own Proteſtant ſubjects from forming a junction with them. A great genius at the helm of ſtate would have reduced the Proteſtants of France to obedience while he ſupported thoſe of Germany; but Henry IV. was no more, and Richelieu had not yet revived his ſyſtem of politics.

While

While France loſt the remains of its former glory, the new republic of Holland laid the foundation of its future greatneſs. The enthuſiaſm by which the race of Orange had tranſformed that mercantile people into a nation of heroes, was not yet extinguiſhed, and had enabled them to eſtabliſh their independence, after a bloody war with Spain. Mindful of the gratitude they owed to foreign aſſiſtance, theſe republicans were eager to eſpouſe the cauſe of their confederates in Germany, with whoſe independence their own was ſo cloſely connected. But a republic which fought for its own exiſtence, which muſt ſtill employ the greateſt efforts to oppoſe a ſuperior enemy, even upon its own territories, could not be expected to turn its means of ſelf-defence to the aſſiſtance of foreign ſtates.

England alſo, though united with Scotland, poſſeſſed, under the feeble adminiſtration of James I. no longer the ſame weight which it obtained by the great genius of its queen Elizabeth among the powers of Europe. Convinced that the welfare of her dominions depended upon the ſecurity of the Proteſtants, that ſagacious queen laid it down as a principle to promote every undertaking of that party which

which tended to diminiſh the power of Auſtria. Her ſucceſſor poſſeſſed neither the courage nor the power of purſuing her meaſures. While the economical Elizabeth opened her treaſure to aſſiſt the Flemings againſt Spain, and to ſupport Henry IV. againſt the League, James abandoned his daughter, grandſon, and ſon-in-law, to the fury of his enemies. While this prince exhauſted all his rhetoric to deduce the rights of kings from heaven, he degraded his earthly dominion in the eyes of his ſubjects. While he preached about the abſoluteneſs of kingly power, he reminded the people of England of their rights, and by an uſeleſs expenſe of treaſure abridged his moſt important prerogative, while he endeavoured to ſubdue his parliament, and ſuppreſs the voice of liberty. A natural horror of a naked ſword intimidated him from engaging in the preſent war*; his favourite, Buckingham, alſo abuſed his weakneſs, and his own vanity rendered him an eaſy dupe to Spaniſh arts. While his ſon-

* This was owing to the fright, as is reported, which his mother received while pregnant of him, from the aſſaſſins of Rizzio, her favourite. The ſame fear of a drawn ſword is aſcribed by Plutarch and Polybius to the Achean general Aratus, who, on that account, executed his expeditions in the night-time. *Tranſ.*

in-

in-law's affairs were ruined in Germany, and his grandſon's inheritance was alienated, this vain old man amuſed himſelf with a treaty of marriage which Spain and Savoy held out to him. In order to divert his attention from the war in Germany, a daughter-in-law was offered to him in Madrid, and he even encouraged his ſon in the romantic ſcheme of paying his perſonal addreſſes to the princeſs. His ſon loſt the Spaniſh bride, as his ſon-in-law had the crown of Bohemia and the Palatinate; and death only ſaved himſelf the mortification of concluding his peaceful adminiſtration by a war which he had not the courage to wage at a diſtance.

The civil commotions excited by this prince's incapacity broke out into a furious rebellion under the reign of his unfortunate ſon, and compelled the latter, after ſome inconſiderable efforts, to relinquiſh every ſhare in the German war, in order to oppoſe the rage of factions in his own kingdom, to which he at laſt became the deplorable victim.

Two illuſtrious monarchs, unequal in perſonal merit, but diſtinguiſhed alike by their power and thirſt of fame, excited during that period

period the attention of the northern part of Europe. Under the long and active reign of Chriſtian IV. Denmark became a conſiderable power. The perſonal accompliſhments of this prince, an excellent navy, a formidable army, well-regulated finances, and prudent alliances, contributed to ſecure the interior proſperity and exterior conſequence of that kingdom. Sweden had been reſcued by Guſtavus Vaſa from vaſſalage, and by its new organization became an important power in the European ſyſtem of politics. The outline which was traced by this great prince was brought to a concluſion by his ſtill greater deſcendant, Guſtavus Adolphus.

Both kingdoms, formerly united under one monarchy, and enfeebled by this union, were forcibly ſeparated by the Reformation: and this ſeparation was the epocha of their proſperity. This unnatural union was not more diſadvantageous, than their ſubſequent alliance was to their mutual advantage. On both the Proteſtant church depended, and they were alike intereſted in preſerving the dominion of the ſea: they were alſo equally united againſt a common enemy; but their long diviſion retarded their ſincere union. The Daniſh

kings would never renounce their right to the crown of Sweden, nor thoſe of Sweden forget the former tyranny of the Danes. The borders of both ſtates, ſo near each other, continually excited their mutual jealouſies, and the vigilance of their ſovereigns; and their inevitable jealouſy of trade in the Baltic perpetually cauſed diſputes between them.

Amid the means by which Guſtavus Vaſa, the legiſlator of the Swediſh monarchy, endeavoured to eſtabliſhed its conſtitution, the reformation of religion was the principal. A fundamental law excluded the followers of popery from all places in the adminiſtration, and forbad the future ſovereigns of Sweden from altering the national religion; but Guſtavus's ſecond ſon and ſucceſſor, John, had already embraced popery, and his ſon Sigiſmund, alſo King of Poland, had indulged himſelf in meaſures hoſtile to the reigning religion. To this the ſtates made a violent reſiſtance, and, headed by Charles Duke of Sudermania, commenced a civil war between the uncle and nephew. Charles took advantage of Sigiſmund's long abſence in Poland, and the firſt diſpleaſure of the ſtates, to open himſelf and his poſterity a way to the throne. His ambition was favoured by the

imprudent

imprudent meaſures of Sigiſmund. A general diet undertook to change the right of ſucceſſion, and lay aſide that of primogeniture which Guſtavus Vaſa had eſtabliſhed, and placed the Duke of Sudermania on the throne, by which Sigiſmund and his poſterity were excluded.

The ſon of this prince, who reigned under the title of Charles IX. was father of the celebrated Guſtavus Adolphus, whom the adherents of Sigiſmund affected to treat as an uſurper. But when animoſity ariſes between the ſovereign and his people, when the ſentiments of the latter are reſpected, a nation, by its unanimous voice, may ſometimes be permitted to renounce its allegiance to one ſovereign, and to ſupply his place by another more able to govern it.

Guſtavus Adolphus had not as yet attained his ſeventeenth year when he ſucceeded to the throne by the death of his father: but the early indications he gave of genius induced the ſtates to abridge the period of his minority. By a victory over himſelf he opened a reign of uninterrupted ſplendour. The young Counteſs of Brahe had gained his early affections; and, though the daughter of a ſubject, he ſeriouſly deter-

determined to ſhare with her his throne. But diverted by the preſent circumſtances from his attachment, he now devoted his whole time to the affairs of ſtate, and the thirſt of glory again took poſſeſſion of a boſom which was not exclusively deſtined for the happineſs of any one human being.

Chriſtian IV. King of Denmark, who had aſcended the throne before Guſtavus's birth, had made an inroad into the borders of Sweden, and obtained conſiderable advantages over the father of that hero. Guſtavus Adolphus haſtened to conclude this ruinous war, and by prudent ſacrifices obtained a peace, in order to turn his arms againſt the Czar of Muſcovy. Never to obtain the equivocal renown of a conqueror, did he expend, in unjuſt wars, the blood of his people: at the ſame time he never abandoned his juſt pretenſions. His arms were crowned with ſucceſs againſt Ruſſia, and Sweden was augmented by ſeveral extenſive provinces upon its eaſtern frontiers.

In the mean time Sigiſmund King of Poland retained againſt the ſon the ſame inveterate hatred he had againſt the father, and uſed every artifice to detach the ſubjects of Guſtavus Adolphus from

from their allegiance, to render them implacable, and his allies indifferent. Neither the great qualities of his antagonift, nor the attachment of the Swedes to their new king, whom they loved to adoration, could deter that imprudent prince from the vain hope of reafcending the loft throne. All Guftavus's offers of peace he rejected with fcorn, and the Swedifh king faw himfelf engaged, from neceffity, in a war which ended in his taking poffeffion of all Livonia and Polifh Pruffia. Continually victorious, Guftavus Adolphus was ever the firft to enter into a pacification.

This conteft between Sweden and Poland took place in the commencement of the thirty years war in Germany, with which it is connected. The circumftance of Sigifmund's being a Catholic prince, was fufficient to fecure him the alliance of Spain and Auftria; a clofer connexion with the Emperor gave him a double claim to that prince's fupport. The reliance upon this was what prevailed upon the Polifh king to engage in a war which terminated fo much to his difadvantage; and promifes were all that he obtained from the courts of Madrid and Vienna. While Sigifmund loft poffeffion of Livonia, Courland, and Pruffia, he faw his allies

allies in Germany, by an uninterrupted ſeries of victories, make rapid ſtrides to univerſal dominion. It was not then ſurpriſing if his animoſity to Sweden kept pace with his loſſes; the warmth with which he proſecuted his chimerical ſchemes did not permit him to diſcern the artful policy of his enemies, who only wiſhed to occupy the Swediſh hero at his expenſe, in order to bring the German liberties under their ſubjection, and then fall on the exhauſted North as an eaſy conqueſt. But an unforeſeen circumſtance, Guſtavus's heroic ſpirit, confounded this falſe ſyſtem of politics; an eight years war in Poland, inſtead of diminiſhing the power of Sweden, only ſerved to bring Guſtavus's military ſkill to maturity, to form his troops into veterans, and gradually to prepare a ſyſtem of warfare, by which he afterwards performed ſuch exploits in Germany.

After this neceſſary digreſſion upon the ſituation of the European ſtates during that period, I ſhall now reſume the thread of my narration.

Ferdinand had recovered his dominions, but not indemnified himſelf for the expenſes which it had coſt him to reconquer them.

Forty millions of florins, which the confiscations in Bohemia produced, would have sufficed to indemnify the costs of himself and his allies; but that immense sum was soon squandered among the Jesuits and his favourites. The Duke of Bavaria, to whose victorious arms Ferdinand was almost entirely indebted for the recovery of his dominions, who had abandoned a nearer relation to devote himself to the service of his religion and that of Ferdinand, had the fairest claims to that Emperor's gratitude; and in an agreement which he had made with the latter before the war, had expressly stipulated the reimbursement of his expenses. Ferdinand felt the power of this promise, and the weight of the service which was rendered him, but was not disposed to reward them at his own cost; his intention was to recompense the Duke in a more brilliant manner. To accomplish this purpose, no better plan could be devised than to bestow upon him the dominions of the unfortunate Elector Palatine, who by his revolt had appeared in some measure to merit chastisement in the eyes of the world. Frederic must therefore be further persecuted and totally ruined, because Maximilian must be rewarded, and a new war commenced in order to defray the expenses of an old one.

But

But a motive of a very different nature confirmed this resolution: Ferdinand had hitherto combated only for existence; but now victorious, he remembered his higher duties, and the vow which he had made to the blessed Virgin of Loretto, of increasing her dominion at the risk of his life and crown. With this vow the oppression of the Protestants was inseparably connected; a more favourable opportunity for its fulfilment could not present itself than the present termination of the Bohemian war; he possessed the power and an appearance of justice in placing the Palatinate in Catholic hands; and this conquest was of the greatest consequence to the Catholics of Germany. While he rewarded the Duke of Bavaria with the spoils of his kinsman, he gratified his meanest passions; while he fulfilled his duty, he crushed an enemy whom he hated; and he saved his ambition a severe sacrifice, while he thought himself promoting the interests of Heaven.

The ruin of Frederic was already resolved on in the Emperor's cabinet long before fortune declared against him; but it was only after the latter event that he felt the full force of this resolution. A decree of the Emperor, destitute of all

all the formalities required upon ſuch an occaſion, declared the Elector Palatine, and three other princes who had borne arms for him in Sileſia and Bohemia, traitors towards the Emperor, diſturbers of the public peace, and deprived them of their rights and territories. The execution of this ſentence, viz. the conqueſt of Frederic's dominions, in order ſtill further to inſult the laws of the Empire, was entruſted to the crown of Spain, as ſovereign of the circle of Burgundy, the Duke of Bavaria, and the members of the League. Had the Evangelic Union been worthy of the name which it bore, and the cauſe which it defended, the execution of this decree would have met with inſurmountable obſtacles; but a contemptible military force, which was ſcarcely able to reſiſt the Spaniſh army in the Lower Palatinate, muſt yield before the united force of Auſtria, Bavaria, and the League. The ſentence which the diet pronounced upon the Elector, detached the free cities immediately from the confederacy, and the princes ſoon followed their example. Eſteeming themſelves ſufficiently fortunate in ſaving their dominions, they abandoned the Elector, their former chief, to his fate, renounced the Union, and determined to renew it no more.

Thus

Thus did the German princes ſhamefully deſert the unfortunate Frederic; and Bohemia, Sileſia, and Moravia, yielded to the Emperor; while a ſingle man, a child of fortune, whoſe riches conſiſted in his ſword, Erneſt Count Mansfeld, dared, in the Bohemian town of Pilſen, to defy the whole power of Auſtria. Left without aſſiſtance by the Elector, to whoſe ſervice he had devoted himſelf, and uncertain whether this prince would be grateful to him for his attachment, he defended the town a conſiderable time againſt the Imperial troops, until his garriſon having mutinied from want of pay, ſold it to the enemy. Undiſmayed by this reverſe, he ſoon after eſtabliſhed *depots* in the Upper Palatinate, to enliſt the troops who were diſbanded by the members of the Union. An army of 20,000 men was ſoon collected under his orders, the more formidable to the country, as it ſubſiſted only by plunder. All the neighbouring biſhoprics trembled for their riches. But Mansfeld was forced to retire before the Duke of Bavaria, who, as executor of the decree of the diet, entered the Upper Palatinate. After having by a fortunate ſtratagem eluded the Bavarian general Tilly, he ſuddenly appeared in the Lower Palatinate, and exerciſed upon the biſhoprics of the Rhine

the ſeverities which he had intended againſt thoſe of Franconia. While the Imperial-Bavarian army over-ran Bohemia, a conſiderable body of troops under Ambroſe Spinola, the Spaniſh general, entered the Lower Palatinate, though the treaty of Ulm permitted the Union to protect this territory. But meaſures were ſo ill concerted, that one place fell after the other into the enemy's hands, and the greater part of the country was in poſſeſſion of the troops of Spain. The Spaniſh general Cordova ſuddenly raiſed the ſiege of Frankenthal when Mansfeld entered the Lower Palatinate; but inſtead of expelling the Spaniards from this province, he haſtened to croſs the Rhine to ſubſiſt his needy troops in Alſace; the dreadful devaſtation which thoſe troops had occaſioned in the open country, was avoided in the towns, which ſaved themſelves by large contributions from plunder. Reinforced by this expedition, Mansfeld again appeared on the Rhine to cover the Lower Palatinate.

While ſuch a general exiſted, Frederic's ruin was not irremediable; new proſpects opened themſelves to his view, and his misfortunes acquired him friends who were neuter in his proſperity. King James of England, who had

with indifference beheld his ſon-in-law loſe the Bohemian throne, was at length arouſed from his inactivity when the victorious enemy proceeded to make attempts upon the electoral dignity. He, however, too late opened his treaſures, and ſupported Count Mansfeld with troops and money in the Lower Palatinate; his near relation, Chriſtian King of Denmark, was engaged in the quarrel by his means. The expiration of the truce between Spain and Holland deprived the Emperor of every hope of ſuccour from the Netherlands; the Proteſtants received very important promiſes, on the contrary, from Tranſilvania and Hungary. The ceſſation of hoſtilities between Bethlen Gabor and the Emperor was no ſooner ended, than that implacable enemy of Auſtria over-ran Hungary, and cauſed himſelf to be crowned as king in Preſburg; ſo rapid was his progreſs, that Bucquoi was obliged to abandon Bohemia, in order to defend Hungary againſt Gabor. That conſummate general, however, fell at the ſiege of Neuhauſel, and Dampierre, his brave companion, had already ſhared the ſame fate before Preſburg. Gabor's progreſs into the Auſtrian territories were irreſiſtible; the old Count Thurn, and ſeveral other Bohemian noblemen of diſtinction, had joined this formi-

dable enemy againſt the Emperor. Had a vigorous attack been made on the ſide of Germany, while Gabor employed the Emperor's arms in Hungary, it might have ſpeedily retrieved Frederic's loſſes; but by a peculiar misfortune, both Gabor and the Germans always laid down their arms alternately, according as the one or the other had uplifted them.

Meantime Frederic had not delayed to join Mansfeld; he entered in diſguiſe the Lower Palatinate, where poſſeſſion was diſputed between Mansfeld and the Bavarian general Tilly. A ray of hope appeared when new allies aroſe from the ruins of the Union. George Frederic, Margrave of Baden, had for ſome time begun to aſſemble a military force, which ſoon grew into a conſiderable army; its deſtination was a ſecret until it ſuddenly took the field and joined Count Mansfeld; his margraviate he had already reſigned to his ſon, in order, if fortune was ſhould be unpropitious, to avert by this ſtratagem the conſequences of the Emperor's indignation. The Duke of Wirtemberg alſo began to augment his army; the Palatine was by theſe means encouraged to make efforts to revive the Union. Tilly was now conſtrained to conſult his own ſafety, and he

he called with the utmoſt haſte the Spaniſh general Cordova to his aſſiſtance. But while their enemies united, Mansfeld ſeparated from the Margrave of Baden, and the latter was defeated by the Bavarian general in 1622 at Wimpfen.

An adventurer without money, the legitimacy of whoſe birth was even diſputed, had ſhown himſelf the defender of a king, whoſe neareſt relations, and even his own father-in-law, abandoned. A ſovereign left his territories, where he reigned in peace, for the uncertain proſpect of poſſeſſing a foreign crown at the hazard of a war; an unexperienced champion, weak in ſtrength, but illuſtrious by deſcent, he undertook the defence of a cauſe which he had not courage to proſecute. Chriſtian Duke of Brunſwic, adminiſtrator of Halberſtadt, appeared to have borrowed from Mansfeld the idea of maintaining an army of 20,000 men without pay. Excited by youthful impetuoſity, and eager to obtain reputation at the expenſe of the Catholic clergy, whom he cordially deteſted, and alſo deſirous of plunder, he aſſembled a conſiderable army in Lower Saxony, under the pretext of eſpouſing Frederic's cauſe and Germany's freedom. *Friend to God and enemy to prieſthood,*

was

was the motto he chose for his standards, and for his coin, composed of church plate; and to this he rigidly adhered in his conduct.

The progress of this banditti was distinguished, as usual, by the most terrible devastations. Enriched by the spoils of the Lower Saxon and Westphalian chapters, they collected force sufficient to plunder the bishoprics of the Upper Rhine; expelled from thence both by friends and enemies, the Administrator marched to the town of Hoechst, upon the Mayn, which he passed after a murderous action with Tilly, who disputed with him the passage of that river. With the loss of half his army, he reached the opposite banks, where he collected its broken remains, at whose head he joined Count Mansfeld. Pursued by Tilly, their united forces threw themselves into Alsace, in order to renew their former ravages. While the Elector Frederic followed as a fugitive the standards of an army which still acknowledged him as king, and flattered him with that title, his friends were busied in effecting his reconciliation with the Emperor. Ferdinand had not yet deprived these of hopes of reinstating Frederic in his dignity as Elector Palatine; full of artifice and cunning, he pretended to be will-

ing to enter into a negotiation, which would damp their ardour in the field and prevent extremities. King James of England, ever the dupe of Auſtrian cunning, contributed by his ridiculous interference to promote the Emperor's ſchemes; above all things, Ferdinand required Frederic to lay down his arms if he depended upon his clemency, and James found this demand uncommonly reaſonable. At his inſtigation the Elector diſmiſſed his only defenders, Count Mansfeld and the Adminiſtrator, and awaited in Holland his deſtiny from the Emperor's clemency.

Mansfeld and Duke Chriſtian were now embarraſſed from the want of a new cauſe of tumult; the defence of the Elector Palatine had ſet them in motion, and his diſmiſſal could not diſarm them; a war was their only wiſh, regardleſs of the cauſe in which it was waged. After ſome vain efforts of Mansfeld to be taken into the Emperor's ſervice, both of theſe leaders went to Lorrain, where the irregularities committed by their troops excited terror even in the interior of France. Here they long remained in a diſagreeable ſtate of dependance upon a maſter who heſitated to employ them, until the Dutch, hard preſſed by the Spaniſh

general

general Spinola, offered to take them into pay. After a murderous action with the Spaniards at Fleurus, where the latter endeavoured to intercept them, they made their way into Holland, and compelled the Spanifh general to raife the fiege of Bergen-op-zoom. But even Holland was foon weary of their unwelcome guefts, and took the firft opportunity of declining their fervices. In the rich province of Eaft Friefland, Mansfeld prepared his troops for new enterprifes. The Duke of Brunfwic, paffionately enamoured of the Electrefs Palatine, whom he had known in Holland, and more difpofed for war than ever, led back his troops to Lower Saxony, bearing as a cockade the glove of that princefs in his hat, and on his ftandards the following motto: "*All for God* "*and you.*" Neither was either as yet deftined to conclude his career in this war.

The Imperial territories were now freed from their enemies, the Union diffolved, the Margrave of Baden, Mansfeld, and the Duke of Brunfwic beaten out of the field, and the Palatinate overrun by the executive troops of the Empire *.

* In cafe any one ftate of the Empire is refractory, the army of a neighbouring territory is ordered to execute the fentence of the diet. This happened at Liege in 1790. *Tranf.*

Manheim

Manheim and Heidelburg yielded to the Bavarians, and in a ſhort time Frankenthal was in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards. The Elector Palatine ſhamefully concealed himſelf in a corner of Holland, to appeaſe, by an abject ſubmiſſion, the Emperor's vengeance. An electoral diet at Ratiſbon was at length appointed to decide his fate. This reſolution had long been formed by the Court of Vienna; but it had not hitherto found an opportunity of putting it in execution. After the ſteps already taken againſt this Elector, Ferdinand thought no further meaſures ſhould be held with him. Security was only to be obtained by exceſſive ſeverity. Frederic muſt, therefore, reconcile himſelf to his loſſes; and a prince without dominions or ſubjects could no longer poſſeſs the electoral dignity. The Duke of Bavaria exalted himſelf upon the ruins of this prince. In proportion as the hatred of the Catholics and of Auſtria increaſed againſt the Proteſtants of the Palatinate, the more they were indebted to Bavarian zeal. At length, by the ceſſion of the electorate Palatine to that of Bavaria, the Catholic religion acquired a deciſive weight in the College of Electors, and obtained it a laſting victory in Germany.

This

This was ſufficient to ſecure the three eccleſiaſtical electorates; the vote of that of Saxony was alone of conſideration among the Proteſtants. But could this Elector oppoſe the Emperor in a diſpute which involved his title? To a prince who had ſtaked his all at the head of the Proteſtants of Germany, nothing would be more dear than the defence of their cauſe againſt popery. But the preſent queſtion was, which religion ſhould be victorious, and who ſhould obtain poſſeſſion of the Palatine territories, and, under the preſſure of oppoſite duties, to conceal private hatred and intereſts. In his proceedings againſt the Palatinate the oppoſition which the Emperor met from the Elector of Saxony, though naturally at the head of the Proteſtant religion, and of German freedom, was merely a form. If John George afterwards oppoſed him, Ferdinand was the aggreſſor, by baniſhing the Proteſtant preachers out of Bohemia. But the rewarding of Bavaria with the Palatinate was no longer a matter of ſurpriſe, when it was known, that for a conſideration of ſix millions of dollars, the Emperor ceded Luſatia to the Elector of Saxony.

Thus, in defiance of all the Proteſtants of Germany, in oppoſition to the conſtitution of the

the Empire, which by his coronation oath he had ſworn to maintain, did Ferdinand ſolemnly inveſt the Duke of Bavaria, at Ratiſbon, with the electorate Palatine, reſerving, as was ſaid, the legal claims which Frederic's poſterity might eſtabliſh. That unfortunate prince now ſaw himſelf irretrievably ruined, without being ſo much as heard in his own defence before the tribunal which condemned him; a privilege which the law grants to the meaneſt ſubject, even in caſes of the moſt atrocious nature.

This violent action at length opened the eyes of the King of England, about the time that his ſon's marriage with a princeſs of Spain was broke off; and James at length began ſeriouſly to eſpouſe the cauſe of his ſon-in-law. A revolution in the French miniſtry placed Cardinal Richelieu at the head of affairs, and that deeply decayed kingdom ſoon felt the advantages of his adminiſtration. The efforts of the Spaniſh viceroy of Milan to make himſelf maſter of Veltlino, and obtain a rallying point with the hereditary ſtates of Auſtria, awakened the old dread of this power, and with it the ſtate maxims of Henry the Great. A marriage between the Prince of Wales and

Henrietta of France united theſe powers in a cloſer connexion, in which they were joined by Holland, Denmark, and ſome of the ſtates of Italy. The propoſed deſign was, to recover by arms Veltlino from Spain, and compel Auſtria to reinſtate the Elector Palatine; but only the firſt of thoſe deſigns was proſecuted with vigour. James I. died, and Charles I. engaged in a quarrel with his parliament, could no longer beſtow attention on the affairs of Germany. Savoy and Venice withheld their aſſiſtance, and the French miniſter thought he muſt firſt ſubdue the Hugonots in his own country previous to his ſupporting the German Proteſtants againſt the Emperor. Thus ended the hopes conceived from this confederacy.

Count Mansfeld, deprived of all ſupport, remained inactive on the Lower Rhine, and the Duke of Brunſwic, after an unfortunate campaign, was driven out of Germany. A new inroad of Bethlen Gabor into Moravia, not being ſupported by the Germans, terminated in a formal peace with the Emperor. The Union was diſſolved, no Proteſtant prince was longer in arms, and the Bavarian general Tilly commanded on the borders of Lower Germany

a vic-

a victorious army, amid Proteſtant ſtates. The movements of the Duke of Brunſwic had already led him to this part of the Empire, and even into the circle of Lower Saxony, where he made himſelf maſter of that prince's magazines in Lepſtadt. The neceſſity of watching this enemy, and preventing his further inroads, muſt now juſtify Tilly's remaining in thoſe parts. But both Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunſwic had diſmiſſed their army from want of money, and Tilly no longer ſaw an enemy before him. He could therefore have no pretext to burden the country.

Amid the voice of parties it is difficult to diſcover the truth; but it appeared a ſerious matter that the members of the League did not diſarm themſelves. The intemperate rejoicings of the Catholics increaſed the alarm. The Emperor and the League were victorious in Germany, and there was no power which could reſiſt them, were they even diſpoſed to break the treaty, and entirely cruſh the Proteſtants. If the Emperor was not even diſpoſed to diſturb the Proteſtants, their defenceleſs ſituation encouraged him to it. Obſolete conventions could not bind a prince who thought he owed all to his religion, and in whoſe eyes every deſign

ſign to promote it acquired a ſanction. Upper Germany was already ſubjected, and it was in Lower Germany alone that his progreſs might meet with ſome oppoſition. Here the Proteſtant religion predominated, the Catholics had been forcibly deprived of their chapters, and this moment appearaed favourable to recover them. A great part of the ſtrength of the Lower German princes conſiſted in thoſe chapters, and the recovery of the loſt domains of the church gave the Catholics an excellent pretext to weaken the former.

It would have been an unpardonable negligence to have remained inactive at ſuch a period. The remembrance of the ravages which Tilly's ſoldiers committed in Lower Germany was too recent not to excite the ſtates of that country to their ſelf-defence. With all poſſible haſte the circle of Lower Saxony betook itſelf to arms; extraordinary contributions were raiſed, troops collected, and magazines formed. Negotiations for ſubſidies were entered into with Holland, Venice, and England. It was deliberated which power ſhould be placed at the head of this confederacy. The maſters of the Sound, and of the Baltic, could not with indifference behold the Emperor approach them

them as a conqueror, and eſtabliſh himſelf on the borders of the North Sea. The double intereſts of religion and ſtate required them to be attentive to his motions in Lower Germany. Chriſtian IV. King of Denmark, as Duke of Holſtein, eſteemed himſelf a member of the ſtates of this circle. By equally powerful conſiderations Guſtavus Adolphus was induced to join this confederacy.

But thoſe kings vied with each other for the honour of defending Lower Germany. Both determined to raiſe formidable armies, and lead them in perſon againſt the alarming power of Auſtria. The promiſes of the latter king acquired additional ſtrength from victorious campaigns againſt Muſcovy and Poland. But his renown excited envy in the boſom of the Daniſh monarch; and the more laurels he could now promiſe himſelf, the more he was expoſed to the envy of his competitor. They laid their plans before the Engliſh miniſtry, where Chriſtian at length ſucceeded in obtaining the preference to Guſtavus. The latter required as a ſecurity the poſſeſſion of ſome fortifications in Germany, where he had himſelf no territory, in order to ſecure a retreat in caſe of need. Chriſtian IV. had Holſtein and Jut-

land

land through which, if vanquiſhed, he might effect his retreat.

Eager to exceed his competitor in activity, the King of Denmark haſtened to take the field. Appointed generaliſſimo of the circle of Lower Saxony, he ſoon aſſembled an army of 60,000 men; and was joined by the Admiſtrator of Magdeburg, and the Dukes of Brunſwic and Mecklenburg. Encouraged by the hopes of aſſiſtance from England, and with ſuch great preparations, he flattered himſelf with the hope of terminating the war in one campaign. Information was ſent to Vienna that this armament was deſtined only to defend the circle and maintain the peace. But the negotiations with Holland and England, and even with France, appeared to embrace more than defenſive operations, and ſeemed to aim at a total re-eſtabliſhment of the Elector Palatine, and the humiliation of Auſtrian greatneſs.

After the Emperor had in vain had recourſe to negotiations, exhortations, threats, and orders, to induce the King of Denmark and the circle of Lower Saxony to lay down their arms, hoſtilities commenced, and Lower Germany was the theatre of operations. Tilly marched along

the left bank of the Weſer, and made himſelf maſter of all the paſſes as far as Minden. After a fruitleſs attack upon Nienburg, and his paſſage of the river, he overrun the principality of Calemburg, in which he quartered his troops. The King acted on the oppoſite ſide of the river, and ſpread his forces over the Dutchy of Brunſwic; but having weakened his army by too powerful detachments, he could not engage in any important undertaking with the remainder. Acquainted with the enemy's ſuperiority, he avoided a battle with as much care as his adverſary ſought one.

The Emperor had hitherto made uſe only of the arms of Bavaria and the League in Germany, if the Spaniſh Walloon reinforcements are excepted, which fell into the Lower Palatinate. The Duke of Bavaria carried on the war, as commander in chief of the army of execution; and Tilly, who was at the head of that army, was in his ſervice. He was indebted to the arms of Bavaria and the League for his ſucceſſes, and on them depended his conſequence, which but ill agreed with the great ſchemes which ſo brilliant a commencement of the war induced the Court of Vienna to form.

Notwithſtanding the efforts which the League had made in the Emperor's defence, it was by no means likely that they would carry their complaiſance ſo far as to ſupport him in his plan of making conqueſts: or even if they lent their armies for ſuch a purpoſe, it was more than probable they would ſoon create a jealouſy in the Emperor, who would endeavour to convert all their conqueſts to his own advantage. A formidable army under his own immediate orders would alone free him from his dependance upon Bavaria, and ſecure him the ſuperiority which he had obtained in Germany. But the Auſtrian territories were too much exhauſted by the war to ſuſtain the enormous expenſes of ſuch an armament. Under ſuch circumſtances, nothing could be more agreeable to the Emperor than a propoſal which one of his officers unexpectedly made him.

This was Count Wallenſtein, an experienced ſoldier, and the richeſt nobleman in Bohemia. From his earlieſt youth he had devoted himſelf to the ſervice of Auſtria, and had gained conſiderable reputation in ſeveral campaigns againſt the Turks, Venetians, Bohemians, Hungarians, and Tranſilvanians. At the battle of Prague he was colonel; and afterwards, as

major general, defeated a Hungarian army in Moravia. The Emperor's gratitude equalled these services, and a considerable portion of the confiscated estates in Bohemia was bestowed on him. Possessed of an immense property, and excited by ambition, full of reliance upon his fortunate stars, and still more encouraged by the existing circumstances, he offered the Emperor, at his friends' expense and his own, to raise, clothe, and fully accoutre, an army. He went so far even as to undertake the payment of it, provided he was allowed to augment it to 50,000 men. This project was ridiculed by all as chimerical, but yet it was an important matter to fulfil its promises even in part. A few circles in Bohemia were appointed to serve as depots, and he was allowed the promotion of his officers. In a short time he collected an army 20,000 strong, with which he left the Austrian borders; and soon after he appeared at the head of 30,000 men in Lower Saxony. The Emperor had lent this armament nothing but his name. The reputation of the general, the hope of promotion and of booty, collected adventurers from all parts of Germany; and even sovereign princes, excited by a thirst for glory, or a de-

fire

fire of gain, now offered to raife regiments for the Auftrian fervice.

An Imperial army now appeared, for the firft time, in Germany; an event peculiarly dreadful to the Proteftants, and not much more acceptable to the Catholics. Wallenftein had orders to join the army of the League, and in conjunction with the Bavarian general, to attack the King of Denmark. But, long jealous of Tilly's reputation, he fhowed no difpofition to fhare with him the laurels of the campaign, and to lofe his own fame in the luftre of that of his competitor for glory. His plan of operations confounded that of the latter, but he neverthelefs perfevered in it. As he wanted the refources from which Tilly fupplied his army, he was under the neceffity of leading his troops into fertile countries which had not fuffered by the war. Without obeying his orders to form a junction with the troops of the League, he entered the territories of Halberftadt and Magdeburg, and at Deffau made himfelf mafter of the Elbe. The countries on both fides of this river lay open to his contributions; he was by thefe means enabled to fall on the King of Denmark's rear, and even, if

if neceſſary, could open a paſſage into that prince's territories.

Chriſtian IV. felt the whole force of his danger between two ſuch numerous armies. He had lately been joined by the Adminiſtrator of Halberſtadt, who was returned from Holland; and he now openly declared for Count Mansfeld, whom he had hitherto diſcarded, and ſupported him according to his ability. Mansfeld amply repaid this ſervice. He alone kept Wallenſtein's army on the Elbe at bay, and prevented its junction with that of Tilly. Notwithſtanding the enemy's ſuperiority, this intrepid general approached the bridge of Deſſau, and ventured to entrench himſelf before the Imperial lines on the oppoſite ſide. But having been ſurrounded by the enemy, he was obliged to yield to ſuperior numbers, and conſtrained to abandon his poſt, with the loſs of 3000 men killed. After this defeat Mansfeld withdrew into Brandenburg, whence, after having ſomewhat refreſhed and reinforced his troops, he ſuddenly turned towards Sileſia, in order from thence to march into Hungary, and, in conjunction with Bethlen Gabor, to carry the war into the heart of the Auſtrian ſtates. As the Auſtrian dominions in this quarter were expoſed to an enemy,

my, Wallenſtein received immediate orders to loſe ſight of the King of Denmark, and, if poſſible, to interrupt Mansfeld's progreſs through Sileſia.

The diverſion which Mansfeld made in Wallenſtein's army enabled the King to detach a part of his force into Weſtphalia, in order to take poſſeſſion of the biſhoprics of Munſter and Oſnaburg. To prevent this, Tilly ſuddenly left the Weſer; but the movements of the Duke of Brunſwic, who appeared deſirous of entering the territories of the League, and removing the ſeat of war thither, recalled him in all haſte from Weſtphalia. In order to avoid being cut off from this province, and to prevent a dangerous junction between the Landgrave of Heſſe and the enemy, Tilly immediately ſeized all the tenable poſts on the Fulda and Werha, and ſecured himſelf in Minden, at the entrance of the Heſſian mountains, on the conflux of both thoſe rivers. He ſoon after took Gottingen, the key of Brunſwic and Heſſe, and was preparing to make himſelf maſter of Nordheim, when the King advanced againſt him with his whole army. After the latter had furniſhed this place with all the neceſſaries for ſuſtaining a long ſiege, he endeavoured to open himſelf

 a paſſage

a paſſage into the territories of the League, through Eichsfeld and Thuringia. He had already gained Duderſtadt, when by a rapid march Tilly overtook him. As the latter had been reinforced by ſome of Wallenſtein's regiments, and was ſuperior in numbers, the King turned towards Brunſwic to avoid the battle. But Tilly inceſſantly haraſſed his rear, and after three days ſkirmiſhing he was at length obliged to await the enemy at the village of Lutteron Baenburg. The Danes commenced the attack with great impetuoſity, and their intrepid King led them three times againſt the enemy; but at length the weaker muſt yield to the ſtronger, and to the ſuperior diſcipline of the Imperialiſts, and a complete victory was obtained by the general of the League. The Danes loſt ſixteen colours, with all their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. Several officers of diſtinction, together with 4000 men, were killed on the field of battle: thirty companies of foot, who, during the flight, had thrown themſelves into the town-houſe of Lutter, laid down their arms, and ſurrendered to the conqueror.

The King fled with his cavalry, and ſoon after collected the ſhattered remains of his army.

army. Tilly purſued his victory, made himſelf maſter of the Weſer, and of the territories of Brunſwic, and drove the King to Bremen. Rendered more cautious by defeat, the latter was now determined to act defenſively, and particularly to guard the paſſage of the Elbe againſt the enemy; but while he garriſoned every tenable place, his divided force became inactive, and his ſcattered corps were one after the other either deſtroyed or diſperſed. The troops of the League, maſters of the Weſer, ſpread themſelves along the Elbe and the Havel, and every where drove the Danes before them. Tilly himſelf had already penetrated far into the territories of Brandenburg with his victorious arms, while Wallenſtein, on the other hand, entered Holſtein, to remove the ſeat of war to the King's own territories.

This general was returned from Hungary, whither he had followed Mansfeld without being able to impede his march, or prevent his junction with Bethlen Gabor. Always perſecuted by fortune only to riſe ſuperior to it, that general, after endleſs difficulties, fought his way through Sileſia and Hungary to the Prince of Tranſilvania, to whom, however, he was not a welcome gueſt. Relying upon the aſſiſtance

aſſiſtance of England, and a powerful diverſion in Lower Saxony, Gabor had anew broken the truce with the Emperor; and inſtead of the expected diverſion, Mansfeld now drew upon him all Wallenſtein's army, and required from him the pecuniary aid which he himſelf wanted from others. The little harmony that reigned among the Proteſtant princes abated Gabor's zeal, and he haſtened, as uſual, to avert the ſuperior force of the Emperor by a ſpeedy peace; determined, however, to break it on the firſt ray of hope, he directed Mansfeld to apply for aſſiſtance to the republic of Venice.

Cut off from Germany, and wholly unable to ſubſiſt the weak remains of his troops in Hungary, Mansfeld ſold his artillery, &c. and diminiſhed his ſoldiers; he himſelf paſſed with a ſmall train of attendants through Boſnia and Dalmatia towards Venice. But his career was ended; fate, which ſo ſported with him during life, prepared for him in Dalmatia a grave: death overtook him near Zara * (1626).

* This extraordinary man, who might be numbered among Plutarch's heroes, was the natural ſon of an Auſtrian general, and had been legitimated by the Emperor Rodolph. He ſerved his firſt campaigns in Hungary, under the Arch-

duke

(1626). A ſhort time before died the faithful companion of his fortunes, Chriſtian Duke of Brunſwic; two men with fair claims to immortality, they elevated themſelves ſuperior to their age and their deſtiny.

The King of Denmark, with a complete army, had been unable to reſiſt Tilly alone: it could not therefore be expected that, with a ſhattered force, he ſhould now be able to oppoſe the two Imperial generals united. The Danes retired from all their poſts upon the Weſer, Elbe, and Havel; and Wallenſtein's army overſpread Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Holſtein, and Sleſwig. This general, too proud to act in

duke Charles; he afterwards entered the Spaniſh, and then the ſervice of Savoy, and died in that of the Elector Palatine. He was often beat, but never conquered, and appeared after his defeats more formidable than before; he was inconſtant, and loved troubleſome times, and bore the greateſt hardſhips with indifference; he was an expert negotiator, and a perſuaſive orator; always poor, his ſword being his only patrimony; he every where fought war, and was every where the terror of his enemies.

Perceiving the approach of death, he threw on his uniform, girded his ſword, and was held upright, ſtanding by two of his officers. In this poſture he expired; a trait ſeemingly miſplaced in the ſituation of a dying man, but characteriſtic of a great ſoul. He died in his forty-ſixth year, and was buried in Spalatro. *Tranſ.*

con-

conjunction with another, had detached Tilly over the Elbe, to watch the motions of the Dutch; but in reality this was a pretext to have the merit of terminating the Danish war, and to reap the harvest of Tilly's laurels. Christian lost all his German fortresses except Gluckstadt, his army was beaten and dispersed, he received no aid from Germany, and but little consolation from England, and his allies in Lower Saxony were abandoned to the enemy's fury. Tilly had, immediately after the victory at Lutter, compelled the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel to renounce the Danish alliance; Wallenstein's formidable appearance before Berlin compelled the Elector of Brandenburg to acknowledge Maximilian of Bavaria as a lawful elector. The greater part of Mecklenburg was now over-run by the Imperial troops; both its Dukes *, as allies of the Danish king, were put to the bann of the Empire, and expelled from their territories. Thus was the defence of the German liberty against unjust attacks, punished as a crime, with the loss of dignity and property; yet even this was only a prelude to the more tyrannical proceedings which followed.

* Schwerin and Strelitz. *Trans.*

The

The ſecret now came to light in what manner Wallenſtein was to fulfil his extravagant promiſes; he had learned it from Mansfeld, but the ſcholar ſurpaſſed his maſter. Having eſtabliſhed it as a maxim that one war muſt be ſupported by another, Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunſwic ſubſiſted their troops by the contributions which they indiſcriminately raiſed among friends and enemies; but this thieviſh life was attended with all the uncertainty and inconvenience which accompany robbery. Obliged, in queſt of prey, to roam from one end of Germany to the other, their motions were narrowly watched, and they were ſometimes obliged to abandon the richeſt countries upon the appearance of a ſuperior enemy. But if Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunſwic had done ſuch great things while they had ſo many obſtacles to ſurmount, how much more might now be performed when theſe obſtacles were all removed; when the army raiſed was ſufficient to overawe the moſt powerful ſtates in the Empire; when the Emperor's name inſured impunity to every act of violence; in ſhort, when the firſt authority of the Empire, ſupported by a formidable army, had determined to purſue the ſame ſyſtem of warfare which two adventurers, at the

head

head of an irregular multitude, had practiſed in their own defence.

Wallenſtein had this plan in view when he laid before the Emperor his bold project, which was no longer found ſurpriſing to mankind. The more the army was increaſed, the eaſier it was ſubſiſted, becauſe its ſuperiority cruſhed every oppoſition; the more violent the actions, the more they aſſured impunity to the perpetrators; there was ſome colour of juſtice in oppreſſing ſuch ſtates as were refractory; the oppreſſion of thoſe who had maintained their allegiance was juſtified upon the grounds of neceſſity. This unequal treatment of the ſtates prevented a dangerous union between them; the exhauſted ſituation of their territories reſtrained them from exertions. All Germany, after this manner, became a magazine to the Imperial army, and the Emperor was equally abſolute in the territories of the Empire, as in his own hereditary dominions; the clamour for juſtice was inceſſant before the Imperial throne, but ſuch as had recourſe to it were ſecured againſt the indignation of the oppreſſed princes. The cry of diſcontent was levelled againſt the Emperor, who lent his name to thoſe violences, and againſt his general, who exceeded

his

his power and openly abuſed the authority of his maſter. Recourſe was had to the Emperor for protection againſt his general; but Wallenſtein no ſooner ſaw himſelf abſolute in his army, than he threw off his allegiance to his ſovereign.

The exhauſted ſituation of the enemy gave room to hope for a ſpeedy peace; nevertheleſs Wallenſtein continued to augment the Imperial armies, until at length he had rendered them a hundred thouſand ſtrong. Colonels and inferior officers, commiſſions innumerable, a regal pomp, immoderate largeſſes to his favourities (for he never gave leſs than a thouſand florins), immenſe ſums employed in corrupting the Court of Vienna, in order to maintain his authority; all this was done without burdening the Emperor. Theſe enormous ſupplies were drawn from the provinces of Lower Germany, where no diſtinction was made between friend and enemy, and where all was treated as a conquered country. If credit may be given to a looſe calculation made at that period, Wallenſtein, during the ſeven years of his command, raiſed no leſs than ſixty thouſand millions of dollars from one half of Germany. The greater were his contributions, the more his army increaſed and his ſupplies were augmented;

mented; his ſtandards were reſorted to from every quarter, for all mankind are attracted by good fortune; his army increaſed prodigiouſly, while every country through which it paſſed felt its ravages. In ſuch circumſtances, the deteſtation of the people and the complaints of the princes were of little conſequence while he was ſupported by ſo great a force; guilt itſelf put him in a condition to defy any bad conſequences which might ariſe from it.

In juſtice to the Emperor, he muſt not be regarded as the author of the irregularities committed by his troops. Had Ferdinand known that he abandoned the German ſtates to the rapacity of his general, he muſt alſo have been ſenſible of the danger to which his own authority was expoſed from ſuch a commander's uncontrolled power; the cloſe union between the general and his army muſt have relaxed the good underſtanding between the Emperor and both. It is true, every tranſaction was ſanctioned by the Imperial name, but Wallenſtein uſed that of the chief of the Empire, only the eaſier to oppreſs the other German ſtates; hence aroſe this man's maxim, to depreſs the princes of the Empire, to deſtroy all gradations of rank between the latter and the Emperor, whoſe

whoſe power he ſecured, and reſolved to elevate beyond all competition. Were the Emperor the only diſpenſer of law in Germany, what would then control the man to whom he entruſted the execution of his orders? The height to which Wallenſtein raiſed the Emperor's power, aſtoniſhed even the latter; but as the greatneſs of the maſter was entirely the work of the ſervant, it returned to its former inſignificance ſo ſoon as it wanted the ſupport of its founder. He artfully inflamed the minds of the princes of the Empire againſt the Emperor, becauſe, the greater their hatred was, the more indiſpenſable did the ſervices of a man become who alone could protect him againſt their indignation. His deſign inſenſibly appeared to be, that the Emperor ſhould be wholly independent of every perſon in Germany except of him, to whom he owed that independence.

One ſtep towards this was, that Wallenſtein demanded poſſeſſion of Mecklenburg as a pledge for the payment of the money which he had advanced the Emperor in the preceding campaign. The Emperor had already begun to elevate his own above the Bavarian general, and raiſed the former to the dignity of Duke of

Friedland; but an ordinary recompence could not ſatisfy Wallenſtein's ambition. In vain did his new claim meet with oppoſition in the Imperial council, becauſe it muſt be granted at the expenſe of two princes of the Empire; in vain did the Spaniards, long offended at his haughty demeanour, oppoſe his elevation; the powerful intereſt which Wallenſtein poſſeſſed by corruption among the Imperial privy counſellors prevailed. Ferdinand was determined to attach to himſelf, at all hazards, a man whoſe ſervices he could not diſpenſe with; the heirs of one of the moſt ancient houſes in Germany were expelled their inheritance, in order to enrich a creature of the Emperor with their ſpoils. (1628.)

Wallenſtein ſoon after began to aſſume the title of Imperial generaliſſimo by land and ſea. The town of Wiſmar was taken, to obtain a firmer footing on the Baltic; ſhips were required from Poland and the Hanſeatic towns, in order to carry on the war on that ſea, to purſue the Danes into the interior of their country, and compel them to a peace, which was to ſerve as a prelude to ſtill greater conqueſts. The alliance between the northern German ſtates and the kingdoms of the North would

would be diſſolved, if the Emperor could place himſelf between both, and ſurround Germany, from the Adriatic ſea to the Sound (for Poland was already dependant on him), with an extenſive chain of territories. If ſuch was the Emperor's plan, it was no leſs Wallenſtein's intereſt to purſue it. Poſſeſſions on the Baltic were intended as the foundation of a power, the eſtabliſhment of which had long been the object of his ambition, and which might make him independent of his ſovereign.

To obtain this end, it was of the utmoſt importance to get poſſeſſion of the town of Stralſund, on the Baltic; its excellent harbour, and the ſhort paſſage from thence to the coaſts of Sweden and Denmark, rendered it peculiarly fitted for a place of arms to wage war againſt both thoſe kingdoms. This town, the ſixth in the Hanſeatic League, enjoyed, under the protection of the Duke of Pomerania, the moſt important privileges, and had not hitherto borne the leaſt ſhare in the war; yet neither its neutrality nor its privileges could ſecure it againſt the uſurpations of Wallenſtein, whoſe deſigns were directed towards it.

The propoſal of receiving an Imperial garriſon, which this general made to the magiſtrates of Stralſund, was rejected by them with firmneſs; a deceitful requeſt of marching his troops through the town, met with no better ſucceſs. He now, therefore, determined to beſiege it.

It was of the utmoſt conſequence to both the northern kings to maintain the independence of Stralſund, without which the navigation of the Baltic could not be preſerved. Their common danger at length overcame the private jealouſies which had long ſubſiſted between both kings: at a convention held in Copenhagen in 1628, they mutually engaged to defend Stralſund with their united ſtrength, and to reſiſt every power which ſhould enter the Baltic with hoſtile intentions. Chriſtian IV. immediately upon this, threw a ſufficient garriſon into Stralſund, and encouraged its inhabitants by his perſonal appearance among them; ſome ſhips of war which Sigiſmund King of Poland had ſent the Imperial general, were ſunk by the Daniſh fleet; and as Lubec refuſed him aid, Wallenſtein had not ſhips ſufficient to blockade even the harbour of this one town.

Nothing

Nothing appeared more abſurd than to attempt the conqueſt of a ſea-port, ſtrongly fortified, without firſt blockading its harbour. Wallenſtein, who had hitherto experienced no reſiſtance, would willingly overcome nature and perform impoſſibilities. Stralſund, open towards the ſea, ſtill continued to ſupply itſelf with proviſions, and reinforce its garriſon; nevertheleſs Wallenſtein ſurrounded it on the land ſide, and endeavoured by boaſting threats to ſupply the want of real ſtrength. "*I will take* "*this town*," ſaid he, "*though it were faſtened* "*by a chain to the heavens.*" The Emperor, who might have repented an undertaking of which he promiſed himſelf no favourable iſſue, received with eagerneſs the apparent ſubmiſſion and acceptable offers of the inhabitants of Stralſund, and gave orders to his generals to raiſe the ſiege; Wallenſtein deſpiſed this order, and made repeated attacks upon the garriſon. As the fatigue was become too great for the remainder of the Daniſh troops, already conſiderably diminiſhed, and the King found it inconvenient to reinforce them, Stralſund, with Chriſtian's conſent, applied to the King of Sweden; the Daniſh commander evacuated the town, in order to make way for a Swediſh garriſon, who defended it with the moſt fortu-

nate ſucceſs. Wallenſtein's good fortune failed him before this town, and, for the firſt time, he had the ſenſible mortification of being, after ſeveral months efforts, obliged to abandon his enterpriſe, with the loſs of twelve thouſand men killed. The neceſſity under which he put this town to apply for Swediſh aſſiſtance, brought on a cloſe alliance between Guſtavus Adolphus and Stralſund, which afterwards not a little facilitated the entrance of the Swedes into Germany.

Hitherto fortune had accompanied the arms of the League and the Emperor, and Chriſtian IV. vanquiſhed in Germany, ſaw himſelf obliged to take refuge in his iſlands; but the Baltic ſtopped the progreſs of the conquerors. Their want of ſhips prevented them from purſuing the King, and even put them in danger of loſing their conqueſts. The union of the two northern kings was peculiarly to be feared, becauſe, if they acted with firmneſs, they made it impoſſible for the Emperor and his generals to obtain a footing on the Baltic, or effect a landing in Sweden. Were it, however, poſſible to divide the intereſts of both kings, and in particular to ſecure the alliance of the Daniſh monarch, it would be more practicable to over-

come

come the ſingle power of Sweden. The dread of foreign influence, violent commotions among his own Proteſtant ſubjects, the great expenſes of the war, and, ſtill more, the ſtorm which threatened the Proteſtant part of Germany, at length diſpoſed the Emperor to a peace, which his general, from very oppoſite motives, laboured to effect: far from deſiring a peace, which from the meridian of his greatneſs would reduce him to the obſcurity of a private man, he only wiſhed to change the theatre of war, and thus to prolong the troubles. The friendſhip of Denmark, whoſe neighbour he was become as Duke of Mecklenburg, was of the utmoſt conſequence for the accompliſhment of his extenſive projects, and he determined, even by ſacrificing his maſter's intereſts, to obtain the alliance of that court.

Chriſtian IV. had expreſsly engaged, in the treaty of Copenhagen, to conclude no ſeparate peace with the Emperor without Sweden's conſent; notwithſtanding Wallenſtein's offer was gladly received by him. At a congreſs held at Lubec in 1629, from which Wallenſtein diſmiſſed the Swediſh ambaſſadors, who came to intercede for the Dukes of Mecklenburg, with ſtudied contempt, all the conqueſts taken from

the Danes were reſtored to them. This neceſſary peace was purchaſed by Chriſtian only at the expenſe of his honour; he was forbid to interfere in future in the tranſactions of Germany, as he was entitled to do from his quality of Duke of Holſtein, and compelled to renounce all claim to the regulation of the Lower German chapters, and abandon the Dukes of Mecklenburg to their fate. Chriſtian himſelf had involved theſe princes in a war with the Emperor; he now ſacrificed them to gain the favour of the uſurper of their ſtates. Among the motives which excited him to a war with the Emperor, the reinſtatement of the Elector Palatine, his relation, was not the leaſt; yet was this prince not ſo much as once mentioned in the treaty of Lubec, and one of its articles even recogniſed the Bavarian right of election. With ſuch little reputation did Chriſtian IV. leave the ſcene of action.

Ferdinand had now, for the ſecond time, the tranquillity of Germany in his own power, and it depended only upon him to change the treaty with Denmark into a general peace. From all quarters he was aſſailed by the cries of the unfortunate, who bewailed their afflictions; the cruelty of his ſoldiers, the rapa-

 city

city of his generals, had exceeded all bounds. Germany, laid waſte by the ſavages of Manſfeld's and the Duke of Brunſwic's armies, and the more deſtructive bands of Tilly and Wallenſtein, lay bleeding, exhauſted, deſolate, and ſighed for tranquillity; the ſtates of the Empire ardently deſired peace, the Emperor himſelf earneſtly wiſhed for it, being engaged in a war in Upper Italy with France, exhauſted by that which he had hitherto waged in Germany, and apprehenſive of the payment of expenſes which was expected from him. But unfortunately, the conditions upon which both religious parties ſheathed the ſword, contradicted each other; the Catholics were deſirous to terminate this war to their own advantage, the Proteſtants had equal pretenſions: the Emperor, inſtead of uniting both by a prudent moderation, declared himſelf for one party; and thus did Germany anew precipitate itſelf into the horrors of a deſtructive war.

Since the termination of the Bohemian troubles, Ferdinand had commenced the counter-reformation in his hereditary dominions, which, however, from regard towards ſome Proteſtant ſtates, was conducted with moderation; but the victories obtained by his general

ral in Lower Saxony encouraged him to lay aside all reserve. It was now intimated to the Protestants in his hereditary dominions, that they must either abandon their religion or their native country; a bitter and dreadful alternative, which caused the most violent commotions among the vassals of Austria. After the expulsion of Frederic, the reformed religion was suppressed in the Palatinate, and its professors expelled the university of Heidelburg.

These innovations were a prelude to one still greater; in the college of Electors, held at Mulhausen, the Catholics had required from the Emperor the restitution of all the bishoprics and archbishoprics, abbacies and priories, which the Protestants had taken possession of since the treaty of Augsburg, in order to indemnify the former for the losses they had sustained since the commencement of the war. Such a hint could not be overlooked by so zealous a Catholic prince as Ferdinand, but it was as yet deemed too soon to raise all the Protestants in Germany in commotion by such a step; there was no Protestant prince whose territories were not concerned in this restitution of the Catholic chapters; where the revenues of the latter were not

not converted to temporal purpofes, they were applied to the ufe of the Proteftant church, and feveral princes owed to them the greater part of their revenues and power. All of them, without exception, muft be alarmed at the recalling of the chapters. Though the religious treaty had left the matter doubtful, it had not exprefsly deprived them of thofe chapters; but the long poffeffion of more than a century, the filence of former Emperors, the rules of moderation, which gave them an equal fhare with the Catholics in the endowments of their anceftors, would be adduced by them as a rational claim. Befides the immediate blow which the reftoration of thofe chapters gave their power and authority, and the unforefeen confufion which would follow, it was of no fmall difadvantage to them that fuch bifhoprics, reftored to the Catholic party, would augment it by fo many votes in the diet. So fenfible a lofs on the part of the Proteftants gave the Emperor to apprehend the moft violent refiftance; and before the flames of war were extinguifhed in Germany, he did not defire to roufe a party, formidable by its union, which had a powerful fupport in the Elector of Saxony. He at firft refolved to try the experiment upon a fmall fcale, to difcover in what manner it would

ſucceed on a greater. Some free cities in Upper Germany, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, received orders to reſtore ſeveral ſuch alienated chapters.

Circumſtances in Saxony enabled the Emperor to make bolder experiments. In the biſhoprics of Magdeburg and Halberſtadt the canons had not thought proper to elect biſhops of their own religion; both biſhoprics were now overrun by Wallenſtein's troops, except the town of Magdeburg. It happened by accident that Halberſtadt was vacant by the death of Duke Chriſtian of Brunſwic, its adminiſtrator, and Magdeburg by the depoſition of Chriſtian William, a prince of the Houſe of Brandenburg: Ferdinand took advantage of this circumſtance to place a Catholic biſhop on the ſee of Halberſtadt, and, beſides, a prince of his own houſe. To avoid ſimilar coercion, the chapter of Magdeburg haſtened to elect a ſon of the Elector of Saxony for their archbiſhop; but the Pope, who aſſumed the authority of interfering in this matter, appointed the Auſtrian prince to the archbiſhopric of Magdeburg alſo; and men could not but admire the addreſs of Ferdinand, who amid the moſt pious zeal for

for his religion did not forget the intereſts of his family.

At length, after the peace of Lubec had delivered the Empire from all apprehenſions on the ſide of Denmark, and had appeared totally to lower the Proteſtant intereſt in Germany, the demands of the League becoming louder and more preſſing, Ferdinand, in 1629, ſigned the edict of reſtitution, ſo famous for its diſaſtrous conſequences, after he had previouſly laid it before the four Catholic Electors for their approbation. In the preface he aſſumed to himſelf the power, by virtue of his Imperial authority, of expounding all thoſe articles of the religious treaty whoſe obſcurity had already cauſed ſo many errors, and of becoming ſupreme arbitrator and judge between the contending parties. This prerogative was grounded upon the practice of his anceſtors, and the former conſent even of the Proteſtant ſtates: Saxony had actually yielded it to the Emperor; but it now appeared how deſtructive the attachment of that Houſe to Auſtria was to the Proteſtant cauſe. But if the letter of the treaty was expoſed to double interpretation, as was ſufficiently apparent from the diſpute of a century, the Emperor could

could not with propriety be umpire between the Catholic and Proteſtant ſtates; for being neceſſarily himſelf either a Catholic or a Proteſtant, he muſt favour one of the parties. It was alſo contrary to an eſſential article of the treaty; he could not be judge in his own cauſe without reducing the freedom of the Germans to an empty ſound.

Ferdinand, now uſing his authority to interpret the treaty, gave the following deciſion: "That every confiſcation of chapters made "by the Proteſtants after the ſignature of "it, was contrary to its ſpirit, and ſhould "be recalled as a breach of it." He further decided, "that Catholic proprietors of eſtates "were no further bound to their Proteſtant "ſubjects, than to grant them the liberty of "departure." According to this deciſion, all unlawful poſſeſſors of eccleſiaſtical chapters, conſequently all the Proteſtants without exception, were ordered forthwith to ſurrender what were called their uſurped poſſeſſions to the Imperial commiſſaries, under pain of being put to the bann of the Empire.

No leſs than two archbiſhoprics and twelve biſhoprics ſtood on this liſt; beſides, there were

abbacies

abbacies innumerable which had been ſeized by the Proteſtants. This edict was a thunder-ſtroke to all the Proteſtants in Germany; dreadful by its immediate conſequences, and ſtill more ſo from the more diſtant ones to which it appeared only a prelude. The German Proteſtants now plainly ſaw their ruin determined on by the Emperor and the Catholics, and doubted not that the ruin of German liberty would ſoon follow. A remonſtrance was foreſeen on the part of the Emperor. Commiſſioners were nominated, and an army aſſembled to enforce obedience. The edict was firſt enforced at Augſburg, where the treaty was concluded; that city muſt return to its obedience, under a biſhop; and ſix Proteſtant churches were ſhut up in it. In the ſame manner the Duke of Wirtemberg muſt ſurrender his abbies. This ſeverity alarmed all the Proteſtant ſtates, but without exciting them to an effective reſiſtance; their fear of the Emperor was too powerful, and a great number of them began already to ſubmit. The hopes of obtaining their deſires in a peaceful manner prevailed upon the Catholics to delay the full execution of the edict for a year; and this ſaved the Proteſtants. Before the end of that period the fortune of the Swediſh arms changed the face of affairs.

In

In an aſſembly of Electors held at Ratiſbon in 1630, at which Ferdinand aſſiſted in perſon, it was intended to re-eſtabliſh the general peace of Germany, and to redreſs all grievances. There were not fewer on the ſide of the Catholics than on that of the Proteſtants; however, Ferdinand had perſuaded himſelf, as member of the League by the edict of reſtitution, and as its leader by the gift of the electoral dignity, and the evacuation of the greater part of the Palatinate, that he had obtained the attachment of the Catholics.

Since Wallenſtein's appearance on the political theatre, the good underſtanding between the Emperor and the princes of the League had conſiderably diminiſhed. Accuſtomed to give law to Germany, and even to command the Empire, the proud Elector of Bavaria now ſaw himſelf ſuddenly ſupplanted by the Imperial general, and his power, with that of the League, totally annihilated. Another now aroſe to reap the fruit of his labours, and to bury his paſt ſervices in oblivion. The haughty character of Wallenſtein, whoſe moſt agreeable triumph conſiſted in treating with diſreſpect that prince's authority, and even to give that of his ſovereign an odious latitude, not a little con-

contributed to augment the Elector's sensibility. Discontented with the Emperor, and distrustful of his intentions, he had entered into a treaty with France, which served to render him suspected by the other princes of the League. The fear of the Emperor's plan of self-aggrandizement, and dissatisfaction at present evils, had extinguished all gratitude among them. Wallenstein's exactions were now become intolerable. Brandenburg calculated its losses at twenty, Pomerania at ten, Hesse Cassel at seven millions of dollars, and the rest in proportion. The demand for redress was loud and universal, but remonstrances were useless. No difference was made between Catholics and Protestants, and all were united in this particular. The Emperor received innumerable petitions against Wallenstein, and his ears were assailed by the most lively descriptions of his violences. Ferdinand was not naturally cruel; if not totally innocent of the atrocities which were practised in Germany by his authority, he was unacquainted with their extent, and he did not hesitate at the request of the princes to disband eighteen thousand cavalry from his army. It was while this reform took place that the Swedes were preparing to enter Germany, and

 the

the greater part of the diſbanded Imperial ſoldiers entered that ſervice.

This condeſcenſion of Ferdinand only encouraged the Elector of Bavaria to bolder demands. The triumph over the Emperor was imperfect, while Wallenſtein was commander in chief. The princes muſt now take revenge of the haughtineſs of the general, which they had all felt without diſtinction. The diſmiſſal of this man was demanded by the whole College of Electors, and even by Spain, with an unanimity which aſtoniſhed the Emperor: but the eagerneſs with which thoſe who were jealous of the Emperor ſought Wallenſtein's ruin, muſt have convinced the former of the importance of his general. Wallenſtein, informed of the cabals againſt him in Ratiſbon, did not neglect to expoſe to the Emperor the deſigns of the Elector of Bavaria: he himſelf appeared in Ratiſbon, but with a pomp which exceeded that of his maſter, and increaſed the jealouſy of his opponent.

The Emperor long wavered before he came to a deciſion. The ſacrifice required of him was painful; he was indebted to Wallenſtein for his entire ſuperiority; he felt how much he

loſt

loſt when he delivered him up to the indignation of the princes. But, unfortunately, he wanted the good will of the Electors, now become neceſſary to the appointing his ſon Ferdinand, already elected King of Hungary, as his heir in the Empire, to which the conſent of Maximilian was indiſpenſable. This duty he thought the moſt important, and he ſcrupled not to ſacrifice his moſt valuable ſubject to gain the Elector of Bavaria.

Ambaſſadors from France appeared at this diet of Electors at Ratiſbon, with power to prevent a war, which threatened to break out in Italy, between the Emperor and their maſter. Vincent Duke of Mantua and Montſerrat had died without children; his next relation, Charles Duke of Nevers, had taken poſſeſſion of this inheritance without doing homage to Ferdinand, as liege lord and Emperor. Encouraged by the ſupport of France and Venice, he perſiſted in his refuſal of yielding up thoſe countries to the Imperial commiſſaries, until his right ſhould be decided. Ferdinand, inflamed by the Spaniards, to whom, as proprietors of Milan, the neighbourhood of a French vaſſal was highly alarming, and to whom every opportunity was pleaſing of making conqueſts,

 by

by the aſſiſtance of Auſtria, in this part of Italy, took up arms. Notwithſtanding the interpoſition of Pope Urban VIII. who anxiouſly wiſhed to prevent a war in that country, he marched an army of Germans acroſs the Alps, whoſe unexpected appearance threw the Italian ſtates into conſternation. His arms were already ſucceſsful in Germany, and exaggerated fears ſaw Auſtria's old claims to univerſal monarchy renewed. All the horrors of war were now ſpread over the conſecrated fields through which the Po flows. Mantua was taken by ſtorm, and the ſurrounding country felt the ravages of an unlicenſed ſoldiery. To the deteſtation in which the Emperor was held by all Germany, that of Italy was now added, and even in the conclave itſelf ſilent prayers were offered to Heaven for the ſucceſs of the Swediſh arms.

Alarmed by the univerſal hatred which the Italian campaign drew upon them, and weary of the oppoſition he had met with from the Electors, who zealouſly promoted the deſigns of the French miniſter, the Emperor liſtened to the propoſals of France, and promiſed the new Duke the inveſtiture.

This

This important ſervice on the part of Bavaria required an equivalent from France. The concluſion of the treaty afforded Richelieu's miniſter the deſired opportunity of troubling the Empire, during his reſidence at Ratiſbon, with the moſt dangerous intrigues, of inflaming the diſcontented princes of the League ſtill more againſt him, and turning all the negotiations of the College of Electors to his diſadvantage. For this purpoſe Richelieu had choſen, in the perſon of Father Joſeph, the Capucin friar who accompanied the ambaſſador unſuſpected, an excellent inſtrument. His firſt inſtructions were zealouſly to promote the diſmiſſal of Wallenſtein. With the general who led them to victory, Auſtria's armies loſt a great part of their ſtrength. Armies could not ſupply the place of this one man: it was therefore a maſterſtroke of politics, at the moment when a victorious king, abſolute maſter of his operations, advanced againſt the Emperor, to take the only general who could be compared to him in experience and reputation from the head of the Imperial forces. Father Joſeph undertook to overcome the Emperor's irreſolution, who was in a manner beſieged by the Spaniards and the Electors. "It would be expedient," he thought, "to gratify the Electors upon this occaſion, in

"order the ſooner to obtain the dignity of "King of the Romans. Were this difficulty "once ſurmounted, Wallenſtein could at any "time be found to reſume his former ſtation." The artful Capucin was too ſure of his man to make any addition to this conſolation.

Ferdinand heard the voice of a monk as he would that of Heaven. "*Nothing on earth,*" writes his own confeſſor, "*was more ſacred in* "*his eyes than the prieſthood.*"—"*Did it happen,* was he oft heard to ſay, "*that an angel from* "*heaven and a clergyman were to meet him at* "*the ſame time and place, the clergyman ſhould* "*receive his firſt, and the angel the ſecond act of* "*his obeiſance.*" Wallenſtein's diſmiſſal was determined upon.

In return for this pious condeſcenſion, the Capucin negotiated at Ratiſbon with ſuch dexterity againſt him, that his deſign of procuring the King of Hungary the title of that of the Romans entirely failed. In an article of the late treaty, the French miniſter had declared expreſſly, in the name of his maſter, that France would maintain the moſt perfect neutrality towards the Emperor's enemies, at the very time that Richelieu was ſecretly negotiat-

ing

ing with Sweden, encouraging him to undertake a war, and preſſing him to accept the alliance of his maſter. He even diſclaimed this falſehood ſo ſoon as it had the deſired effect; and Father Joſeph was confined to a convent for having exceeded his inſtructions. Ferdinand, too late, was aware of his deceit: "A "wicked Capucin," he was heard to ſay, "has diſarmed me by his roſary, and encloſed "no leſs than ſix Electors in his cowl."

Thus did art and knavery triumph over the Emperor at the period when he was thought maſter of Germany, and actually was ſuch by his arms. With the loſs of 18,000 men, and a general who alone was worth an army, he left Ratiſbon, without having accompliſhed the deſire for which he made all theſe ſacrifices. Before the Swedes had vanquiſhed him in the field, Maximilian of Bavaria and Father Joſeph had inflicted a mortal wound. It was at this memorable diet that the war commenced with Sweden, while that of Mantua was terminated. The princes on this occaſion interfered in vain on behalf of the Dukes of Mecklenburg, and with as little effect did an Engliſh envoy beg for a penſion for the unfortunate Elector Palatine.

Wallenſtein commanded an army of near one hundred thouſand men, by whom he was adored, when the news of his diſmiſſal was communicated to him. The greater part of the officers were his creatures, and a hint from him decided the fate of the common ſoldiers; his ambition was boundleſs, his pride inſupportable, and his imperious ſpirit could not brook an injury; one moment was now to precipitate him from the height of power to the condition of a private man. To execute a ſimilar ſentence upon ſuch a criminal, appeared to require an act no leſs than that by which it had been obtained; but precautions had been taken to ſelect two of Wallenſtein's moſt intimate friends, as the heralds of theſe bad tidings, who ſoftened them as much as poſſible by the aſſurance of the continuation of the Emperor's favour.

Wallenſtein was already acquainted with the nature of their errand, when the Emperor's meſſengers made their appearance; he had time to collect himſelf, and his countenance ſhowed calmneſs while his breaſt was torn by contending paſſions. But he had predetermined to yield implicit obedience. This reſolution of the Emperor ſurpriſed him before circumſtances were prepared for a bold ſtep, and his

his preparations in a ſtate of ſufficient forwardneſs. His great eſtates were ſcattered over Bohemia and Moravia: by their confiſcation the Emperor would deſtroy the nerves of his power. From time he expected ſatisfaction, and in this hope he was encouraged by the prophecies of an Italian aſtrologer, who led this otherwiſe intrepid ſpirit like a child. Seni had read in the ſtars that the career of his maſter was not yet ended, and that the ſequel had prepared for him a brilliant fortune. It was indeed unneceſſary to conſult the ſtars in order to make it probable that an enemy ſuch as Guſtavus Adolphus would make the ſervices of ſuch a general as Wallenſtein indiſpenſable.

"The Emperor is betrayed," ſaid Wallenſtein to the meſſengers: "I pity, but forgive "him: it is evident that Bavaria domineers; "I am ſorry that he has ſo eaſily ſacrificed me, "but I will obey." The emiſſaries were diſmiſſed with rich preſents, and he beſought the Emperor's further favour and protection in an humble letter. The murmurs of his army were univerſal upon hearing the diſmiſſal of their general, and the greater part of his officers immediately quitted the Imperial ſervice; ſeve-

ral followed him to his eftates in Bohemia and Moravia; others he attached by penfions, in order to command their fervices whenever opportunity offered.

His intentions were by no means fixed on repofe while he returned to a private ftation. In his folitude he was furrounded by a regal pomp which appeared to reproach his degradation; fix gates led to his palace in Prague, and a hundred houfes were demolifhed in order to clear the furrounding fpace. Similar palaces were built upon his numerous eftates; gentlemen of the firft families fought the honour of feeing him, and Imperial chamberlains were known to deliver up the golden key in order to exercife that duty under Wallenftein; he maintained fixty pages, who were inftructed by the moft able mafters; his antechamber was protected by fifty life-guards; his table never confifted of lefs than a hundred covers, and his houfe-fteward was a perfon of diftinction; when he travelled, his fuite and baggage were carried upon a hundred waggons, drawn by fix and four horfes; his court followed him in fixty coaches, attended by fifty led horfes; the magnificence of his liveries, the fplendour of his equipage, and the decorations of his apart-

ments were in proportion; ſix barons and as many knights continually attended his perſon; twelve patroles went their rounds in his palace to prevent any diſturbance; his buſy genius required ſilence; the noiſe of coaches was not permitted near his reſidence, and the ſtreets leading to it were often ſhut up with chains. His deportment was no leſs impenetrable than his acceſs; dark, reſerved, and profound, he was more ſparing of his words than his gifts, and the little that he ſpoke was uttered in unamiable accents; he never ſmiled, and the coldneſs of his temperature withſtood all ſenſual gratifications. Ever occupied by the moſt extenſive ſchemes of ambition, he rejected thoſe idle diſſipations in which others ſpend the beſt part of their time; a correſpondence throughout Europe he managed himſelf, and the greater part of his letters were written by his own pen. He was a man of large ſtature, thin, of a yellow complexion, with red ſhort hair, and ſmall but penetrating eyes; his countenance diſplayed a forbidding ſeriouſneſs, and the magnificence of his preſents could alone retain the trembling crowd of his ſervants.

It was in this ſtately darkneſs that Wallenſtein awaited, not inactively, the return of his good

fortune,

fortune, and the hour of his revenge; the brilliant ſucceſſes of Guſtavus Adolphus ſoon gave him reaſon to expect its approach. He had abandoned none of his vaſt plans; the Emperor's ingratitude had abſolved him from a burdenſome duty; the ſplendour of his life, as a private man, betrayed the extent of his ambition; and bountiful even as a monarch, he ſeemed to regard as his own, the poſſeſſions which his hopes aſſigned him.

A new generaliſſimo muſt be appointed after Wallenſtein's diſmiſſal, and Guſtavus Adolphus's invaſion; and it appeared neceſſary immediately to entruſt the Imperial and League armies to one chief.

Maximilian of Bavaria made efforts to obtain this important dignity, which would render him maſter of the Emperor; but this conſideration induced the latter to prefer to that ſtation his eldeſt ſon, the King of Hungary. At length, however, to avoid giving offence to either of the competitors, the command was given to the general of the League, Tilly, who now exchanged the Bavarian for the Auſtrian ſervice. The army which Ferdinand ſtill poſſeſſed in Germany, after the retreat of Wallen-

ſtein's

ſtein's troops, amounted to about 40,000 men; the forces of the League were not much leſs numerous; both commanded by excellent officers, poſſeſſing the experience of ſeveral campaigns, and proud of a long ſeries of victories. With this force it was thought the King of Sweden's invaſion was the leſs alarming, as Mecklenburg and Pomerania, the only two countries through which he could enter, were already in the hands of his enemies.

After the King of Denmark's unfortunate attempt to check the Emperor's progreſs, Guſtavus Adolphus was the only prince in Europe from whom oppreſſed liberty could hope for aid; the only one whom the ſtrongeſt political motives excited to an undertaking, in which he was alſo juſtified by the injuries he had received, and for which he was admirably fitted by his perſonal qualities. From important political grounds, which he poſſeſſed in common with Denmark, he had already, previous to the commencement of the war in Lower Saxony, made an offer of his army and perſon to defend Germany; but unfortunately for the Daniſh monarch, his offer was rejected. Since that period, the ſuperiority of Wallenſtein, and the deſpotic pride of the Emperor, encouraged both

to

to make demands which muſt have perſonally offended him as a ſovereign prince. Auſtrian troops were detached to the aſſiſtance of the Poliſh king Sigiſmund, in order to defend Pruſſia againſt the Swedes. When the king complained of this act of hoſtility to Wallenſtein, he received for anſwer from the latter, "The Emperor has a ſuperfluity of troops, "and muſt aſſiſt his allies with them." At the Daniſh congreſs at Lubec, Wallenſtein had inſulted the Swediſh ambaſſadors; and when they had the courage to remain unawed by his treatment, he threatened them with an uſage which violated the law of nations. Ferdinand alſo inſulted the Swediſh flag, and had the king's diſpatches conveyed to Tranſilvania; he perſiſted in throwing in obſtacles to prevent the peace between Sweden and Poland, to ſupport Sigiſmund's claim to the Swediſh throne, and to refuſe Guſtavus Adolphus the title of king; he deigned not to pay the ſlighteſt attention to the repeated remonſtrances of Guſtavus, and, inſtead of atoning for paſt, he aggravated them by new injuries.

So many perſonal inſults, ſupported by the moſt important ſtate and religious conſiderations, and ſeconded by preſſing invitations from

from Germany, muſt naturally make a forcible impreſſion upon a prince who was the more jealous of his royal prorogative, in proportion as the title of king was denied him; who found himſelf infinitely flattered by the proſpect of relieving the oppreſſed, and who paſſionately loved war as the native element of his genius. But previous to his engaging in a new and dangerous conteſt, it was abſolutely neceſſary to conclude either a peace, or ceſſation of hoſtilities with Poland.

Cardinal Richelieu had the merit of procuring this truce between Sweden and Poland. That great ſtateſman, with the helm of Europe in one hand, while with the other he repreſſed the fury of interior factions, and the influence of the great in France, obſtinately perſevered, amid the cares of a boiſterous adminiſtration, to check the growing power of the Houſe of Auſtria. But the circumſtances in which he was placed oppoſed ſuch obſtacles to his plan as were ſufficient to deter the greateſt minds from its proſecution, particularly as it ſtood in oppoſition to the prejudices of the age. Miniſter of a Catholic king, and Cardinal of the Romiſh church, the purple he bore did not yet permit him, in conjunction with the enemies

mies of his religion, openly to wage war with a power whose ambition was cloaked by the specious appearance of an attachment to the Catholic faith. The respect which Richelieu was obliged to maintain for the confined ideas of his cotemporaries, checked his political undertakings, and obliged him privately to pursue the plan of his enlightened genius by means of foreign assistance. After having in vain endeavoured to prevent the peace between the Emperor and the King of Denmark, he had recourse to Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of his age. Nothing was omitted to hasten the king's resolution, and to afford him the means of executing it. Charnasse, a faithful emissary of Richelieu, went to Polish Prussia, where Gustavus Adolphus carried on a war with Sigismund, and alternately visited both princes in order to procure a peace between them. Gustavus was long prepared for this event, and the French envoy at length succeeded in opening the eyes of Sigismund to his true interests, and the faithless politics of Austria. A truce was concluded for six years, by which Gustavus remained in possession of his conquests, and finally obtained the opportunity so long desired, of turning his arms against the Emperor. Towards this enterprise, the French envoy

envoy offered him his maſter's alliance, and conſiderable ſubſidies; but Guſtavus entertained apprehenſions that the acceptance of the latter would place him in a ſtate of dependance upon France, which might ſhackle him in the progreſs of his ſucceſs, and alſo that his alliance with a Catholic power would excite the jealouſy of the Proteſtants.

Notwithſtanding both the juſtice and the neceſſity of this war, the appearances under which Guſtavus Adolphus undertook it were highly unfavourable; the very name of Emperor was formidable, his reſources were inexhauſtible, and his armies hitherto invincible. Any other ſpirit but that of Guſtavus would have been diſmayed by ſo dangerous a conflict: he calmly weighed the obſtacles and dangers which oppoſed his undertaking, and found the means to ſurmount them. His army, though not numerous, was well diſciplined, hardened in a ſevere climate, and, by continual campaigns, formed for victory in the war with Poland. Sweden, deficient in money and population, and reduced by an eight years war, was devoted to its king with an enthuſiaſm which promiſed the effectual ſupport of every order in the ſtate. In Germany the Emperor

was odious as he was formidable. The Proteſtant princes only awaited the arrival of a deliverer, to throw off the inſupportable yoke of tyranny under which they laboured, and openly declare for the Swedes; even the Catholic powers could not behold with diſpleaſure the arrival of an antagoniſt who promiſed to check the overgrown power of the Emperor. The firſt victory gained upon the German territory muſt naturally decide the cauſe of Sweden, by bringing the princes who had hitherto ſtood neuter, to declare themſelves, ſtrengthen the courage of its adherents, increaſe the number of its troops, and open rich reſources for the continuance of the war. If the greater part of the German ſtates had hitherto been ſufferers from oppreſſion, the Hanſe towns ſtill remained in a proſperous condition, and were by no means diſpoſed to ſacrifice themſelves; in proportion as the Auſtrians were expelled from the countries of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves, their means of ſubſiſtence were diminiſhed; ill-timed detachments of troops to Italy and the Netherlands had already weakened the Emperor's power. Spain, exhauſted by the loſs of its Manilla fleet, and a bloody war in the Netherlands, could promiſe him little ſupport. Great Britain, on the contrary, gave

Guſtavus

Guftavus Adolphus the hope of confiderable fubfidies; and France, which had quelled its domeftic troubles, made the moft advantageous offers in fupport of his undertaking.

But the ftrongeft pledge for the happy iffue of his enterprife, Guftavus found in himfelf; prudence, however, required him to obtain all foreign aid, thereby to fecure his undertaking from the imputation of rafhnefs. But this forefight and refolution were entirely derived from his own mind. He was indifputably the greateft general of his age, and the braveft foldier in an army formed by himfelf; fully acquainted with the tactics of ancient Greece and Rome, he had made improvements upon the art of war which have been adopted by the greateft generals after his time; he diminifhed the unwieldy fquadrons of cavalry, in order to render the movements of that part of the army more light and active; for that purpofe he formed his battalions of infantry at great intervals. His army he compofed of two lines, inftead of one, that the fecond might advance to fupport the firft, in cafe the latter was thrown into diforder. The want of cavalry he fupplied by placing mufketeers among his horfe, and this often decided the victory. Europe firft

learned from him the great importance of infantry in the day of battle. Germany was astonished at the strictness of the Swedish discipline; all disorders were punished with the utmost severity, more particularly impiety, theft, gaming, and duelling. The Swedish articles of war enforced frugality, and the camp, even the King's tent, displayed neither gold nor silver plate; the general's attention was as much directed to the soldier's morals as to his martial bravery; each morning and evening every regiment formed a circle round its chaplain for prayers. In every thing the King set the example. The courage of his magnanimous soul was still further augmented by an ardent piety; equally free from the coarse infidelity of the northern barbarians, and the miserable superstition of Ferdinand, which degraded him in the eyes of the Supreme Being, Gustavus remained still, in the height of his good fortune, the man and the christian, but amid all his devotion, the king and the hero. The hardships of war he bore like the meanest soldier in his army, maintained the utmost serenity of mind amid the fury of combat, and, with an extraordinary intrepidity, forgot the surrounding danger while he exposed himself to every peril. His native vivacity but too

often

often forgot the duty of a general, and the life of the King ended in the death of a common soldier. But such a leader was equally followed by the backward and the brave, while his rapid glance carefully observed every deed of valour which his example excited. His renown roused among the people an enthusiastic sense of their own importance: proud of such a king, the peasant of Finland and Gothland gave his pittance with pleasure, the soldier willingly shed his blood, and the extraordinary influence which this one man had upon the nation survived him during a long period.

Though no doubt was entertained of the necessity of the war, considerable difficulties arose as to the manner of waging it. An offensive war appeared too dangerous to the magnanimous Chancellor Oxentern, as the scanty treasures of the King bore no competition with the inexhaustible resources of a despot, who held the entire German empire in subjection. The timid scruples of the minister were, however, overruled by the deeper penetration of the hero. "If we await the enemy in Swe-"den," said Gustavus, "all is lost by a de-"feat; every thing, on the contrary, is gained "by a fortunate commencement in Germany.

"The ſea is wide, and we have extenſive "coaſts to guard; ſhould the enemy's fleet "eſcape us, or our own be defeated, it would "in either caſe be impoſſible to prevent a "landing. Every thing depends upon the "preſervation of Stralſund; ſo long as that "harbour is open to us, we ſhall both main- "tain our influence in the Baltic, and ſecure "a retreat from Germany. In order to pre- "ſerve this port, however, we muſt not re- "main in Sweden, but paſs with an army into "Pomerania. Let me then hear no more of "a defenſive plan of operations, by which we "ſacrifice our greateſt advantages. A hoſtile "ſtandard upon its territories is not a pleaſing "proſpect for Sweden; and when vanquiſhed "in Germany it will be time enough to fol- "low your plan."

It was thus reſolved to croſs the Baltic and attack the Emperor; preparations were made with the utmoſt expedition, and the meaſures embraced by Guſtavus in forwarding this plan, diſplayed no leſs foreſight than its execution did valour. Previous to engaging in ſo extenſive a war, it was neceſſary to ſecure Sweden againſt the attempts of its neighbours. Guſtavus ſecured the Daniſh king's alliance by an interview

interview with him at Markaroed; he ftrengthened his frontier towards Mufcovy; and Poland might be held in check in Germany if it betrayed any defign of infringing the truce. Falkenberg, a Swedifh emiffary who went through Germany and Holland, obtained the moft flattering promifes from feveral princes, though none of them as yet poffeffed refolution fufficient to form an open treaty with Sweden. Lubec and Hamburg confented to advance money, and accept Swedifh copper in return; trufty meffengers were even fent to the Prince of Tranfylvania, in order to roufe that implacable enemy of Auftria to hoftility.

Meanwhile Swedifh levies were made in Germany and the Netherlands; the regiments were completed; new ones raifed; tranfports were obtained; the fleet was fitted out; provifions, military ftores, and money, were collected in the greateft poffible quantities; thirty fhips of war were in a fhort time prepared for launching; an army of 15,000 men was affembled, and two hundred tranfports were prepared to waft them acrofs the Baltic. Guftavus Adolphus was defirous of introducing no greater force into Germany, and even the maintenance of this fmall army had hitherto exceeded the

 revenues

revenues of his kingdom. But ſmall as this force was, it was choſen in point of diſcipline, valour, and experience, and laid the foundation of a more numerous army, provided its firſt attempts were attended with ſucceſs. Oxenſtern, both chancellor and general, was at the head of 10,000 men in Poland; ſome regular troops, and a conſiderable body of militia, which ſerved the army as a nurſery, remained in Sweden, to preſerve that kingdom againſt any ſudden invaſion.

By theſe means the ſafety of Sweden was ſecured. Guſtavus Adolphus beſtowed equal care upon its interior adminiſtration. The government was entruſted to the council of ſtate, and the finances to John Caſſimir, Count Palatine, Guſtavus's brother-in law; while the Queen, notwithſtanding the tender affection which he bore her, was excluded by reaſon of her confined talents from every ſhare in the adminiſtration. He quitted his palace with the preſentiment of ſeeing it no more. On the 20th of May 1630, the King appeared in the general Aſſembly of States at Stockholm, to bid them a ſolemn farewell. Here he took in his arms his daughter Chriſtina, then four years old, ſhe having been previouſly acknowledged

as

as his ſucceſſor, preſented her to the ſtates as their future ſovereign, and exacted from them an oath of allegiance to her in caſe of his returning no more; he alſo read the regulations to be obſerved in the government, either during his abſence or the minority of his daughter. At this moving ſcene the Aſſembly diſſolved into tears; and the King was himſelf ſo much overcome, that it was ſome time before he could pronounce the diſcourſe he had prepared for the occaſion, and which he at length delivered to the following purpoſe:

"It is not without juſt cauſe, Gentlemen, "that I embark myſelf and you in the preſent "war: God is my witneſs that I do not engage in this conteſt purely from my own "inclinations. The Emperor of Germany "has already inhumanly inſulted me in the "perſon of my ambaſſador; he has ſupported "my enemies, perſecuted my friends, op-"preſſed my religion, and even made attempts "upon my crown. The oppreſſed ſtates of "Germany call aloud for that vengeance "which, under the influence of Divine aid, "we are determined to procure them.

"I am

"I am fully fenfible of the dangers to which "my life will be expofed. I have never yet "fhrunk from danger, and I cannot avoid my "fate; hitherto has Providence guarded me "in a wonderful manner, but ftill I am def- "tined to fall in defence of my country. Be "juft, be confcientious, act fairly, and we fhall "again meet in eternity.

"To you, my counfellors of ftate, I firft "turn myfelf. May God enlighten your un- "derftandings, and enable you to govern my "people with wifdom.

"You, intrepid nobility, I commend to "Divine protection. Continue to fhow your- "felves the defcendants of thofe Gothic heroes "who laid the Roman eagles in the duft.

"To you, the minifters of religion, I re- "commend patience and moderation. Be "an example of thofe virtues which you "preach, and never abufe the influence which "you have acquired over the minds of my "people.

"Deputies of the burgeffes and the pea- "fantry, I wifh you the Divine bleffing. May

"your

" your induſtry be crowned by a proſperous " harveſt; and may you enjoy in abundance " all the goods of this life.

" For the proſperity of all my ſubjects, both " abſent and preſent, I offer to the Supreme " Being my moſt fervent prayers. I bid you " all my moſt ſincere farewell; and bid it, " perhaps, for the laſt time."

The embarkation of the troops took place at Elfsnaben, where the fleet lay at anchor. An innumerable crowd of ſpectators flocked from all ſides to behold this grand ſpectacle. The hearts of the ſpectators were moved by various ſenſations, whether they conſidered the extent of the preparations, or the greatneſs of the leader. Among the ſuperior officers who commanded in this army were, Guſtavus Horn, Otto Lewis, Count Palatine, Henry Matthias, Count Thurn, Ortenburg, Bannier, Teufel, Tott, Mutſenfahl, Falkenburg, Knyphauſen, and ſeveral others who had acquired a brilliant reputation. Detained by contrary winds, the fleet was unable to ſail until June, and arrived the 24th of that month at the iſland of Ruden, on the coaſt of Pomerania.

Guſtavus

Guſtavus Adolphus was the firſt who leaped on ſhore. In the preſence of his ſuite he fell upon his knees to return thanks to the Almighty for the ſafe arrival of his fleet and army *. He landed his troops upon the iſlands of Wollen and Uſedom: the Auſtrians, upon his approach, immediately quitted their entrenchments, and fled. Conqueſt attended his entrance into Germany. With the utmoſt rapidity he appeared before Stettin, to make himſelf maſter of that important place before the Imperialiſts took poſſeſſion of it. Bogiſlaus XIV. Duke of Pomerania, a weak ſuperannuated prince, was long tired of the oppreſſions which the Imperialiſts had exerciſed, and ſtill continued to exerciſe in his territories: but, too weak to reſiſt, he had contented himſelf with murmurs. The appearance of his deliverer, inſtead of exciting his hopes, only increaſed his fears and irreſolution. Though his country ſtill bled freſh from the wounds which the Imperialiſts inflicted, he could not be prevailed upon to join the Swedes. Guſtavus Adolphus encamped under the walls of Stettin, and ſummoned that town to receive a Swediſh garriſon. Bogiſlaus

* The King's piety was not very conſiſtent with the deſigns which he afterwards formed againſt the liberties of Germany. *Tranſ.*

appeared

appeared in perſon in the Swediſh camp to excuſe his not complying with this requeſt. "I come as your friend, not as your enemy," anſwered Guſtavus. "I do not wage war "againſt you or the German Empire, only "againſt the enemies of both. In my hands "ſhall this dutchy be ſacred, and it ſhall be "reſtored to you at the concluſion of the cam-"paign with much more certainty than it "would by any other. Look to the footſteps "of the Imperial troops in your dominions, "regard thoſe of mine in Uſedom, and deter-"mine whether you will have the Emperor or "me as your friend. What do you expect, "ſhould Ferdinand make himſelf maſter of "your capital? Will he diſplay more cle-"mency than I? Is it your intention to ſtop "my progreſs? Affairs are preſſing, take "your meaſures, and do not oblige me to have "recourſe to violent means."

The alternative was painful to the Duke of Pomerania. On one hand, the King of Sweden was before his gates with a formidable army; on the other he ſaw the terrible vengeance of the Emperor, and the melancholy proſpect of ſo many German princes who fell a ſacrifice to it, and now wandered through the world,

world, ſtripped of their poſſeſſions, and in miſery. The more immediate danger decided his reſolution. The gates of Stettin were opened to the King. Swediſh troops entered, and the advantage was gained over the Auſtrians, who advanced towards it by rapid marches. The poſſeſſion of this place procured the King a firm footing in Pomerania, the navigation of the Oder, and a magazine for his army. Bogiſlaus did not ſcruple to excuſe this meaſure before the Emperor on the plea of neceſſity, and expoſe himſelf, on the commencement, to the reproach of treachery: but aware of the implacable diſpoſition of this monarch, he formed a cloſe alliance with his new protector, in order, by the friendſhip of the Swedes, to ſhelter himſelf from Auſtria's vengeance. The King acquired, by this alliance with Pomerania, an important friend in Germany, who might cover his retreat, and keep open the communication with Sweden.

Guſtavus Adolphus thought himſelf abſolved from the uſual formalities towards Ferdinand, who had been the aggreſſor in Pruſſia, and commenced hoſtilities without a declaration of war. He juſtified his conduct before all Europe in a manifeſto, in which he explained the grounds

grounds of his taking up arms. Meanwhile he continued his progreſs in Pomerania, and daily ſaw his army increaſe. The troops which he had fought under Mansfeld, the Duke of Brunſwic, and Wallenſtein, came, both officers and ſoldiers, in crowds to join his victorious ſtandards.

The invaſion of the King of Sweden excited by no means, at the Imperial court, the attention which it merited. Auſtria's pride, elevated to its utmoſt height by its hitherto unheard-of ſucceſs, regarded with contempt a prince who, with a handful of men, came from an obſcure corner of Europe, and whom they ſuppoſed to owe the military reputation he had already acquired to having been oppoſed to a ſtill more contemptible enemy than himſelf. The humiliating repreſentation which Wallenſtein had artfully given of the Swediſh power contributed to increaſe the Emperor's ſecurity. For what reſpect could he have for an enemy whom his general undertook to drive ſo eaſily out of Germany? Even the victorious progreſs of Guſtavus Adolphus in Pomerania could not extinguiſh the prejudices which the ridicule of flatterers had thrown upon him. He was called in Vienna the *ſnow king*, who was congealed in

in the North, but would infallibly melt on his approach to the ſouthward. Even Electors who were aſſembled in Ratiſbon paid no attention to his manifeſto, and from abject complaiſance towards Ferdinand refuſed him the title of king. But while they amuſed themſelves, in Vienna and Ratiſbon, with turning him into ridicule, he made himſelf maſter of ſeveral ſtrong places in Mecklenburg and Pomerania.

However, notwithſtanding this contemptuous behaviour, the Emperor thought it proper to offer to terminate the quarrel with Sweden by negotiation, and actually ſent plenipotentiaries to Dantzic for that purpoſe. But their inſtructions plainly ſhowed his inſincerity by ſtill continuing to refuſe Guſtavus the title of King. His deſign was to remove the odium of being the aggreſſor to the King of Sweden, and thereby to claim the ſupport of the ſtates of the Empire. The congreſs at Dantzic ended fruitleſſly, as might have been foreſeen, and the animoſity of both parties was increaſed to its utmoſt pitch by a paſſionate correſpondence.

An Imperial general, Torquato Ponti, who commanded the army in Pomerania, had in vain

vain endeavoured to wreſt Stettin from the Swedes. The Imperialiſts were driven from one place to another: Damm, Stargard, Camin, and Wolgaſt, ſoon fell into the King's hands. To revenge himſelf upon the Duke of Pomerania, the Imperial general, on the retreat of his troops, permitted them to exerciſe every ſpecies of barbarity upon the unfortunate inhabitants, who had already but too much ſuffered from his avarice. Under the pretext of depriving the Swedes of ſubſiſtence, the whole country was laid waſte and plundered; and it often happened that when the Imperialiſts could no longer maintain a town, it was laid in aſhes, in order to leave the enemy nothing but ruins. But theſe barbarities ſerved no other purpoſe than to ſet the oppoſite behaviour of the Swedes in a more brilliant light, and to obtain the humane King the attachment of all mankind. The Swediſh ſoldier regularly paid for every thing, and no private property was moleſted on his march. In conſequence of this, they were received, both in town and country, with open arms: all the Imperial ſoldiers who fell into the hands of the Pomeranian peaſantry were maſſacred without compaſſion. A number of Pomeranians entered the Swediſh ſer-

 vice;

vice; and the ſtates of this exhauſted country willingly voted the King a contribution of a hundred thouſand florins.

Torquato Conti, who, notwithſtanding the ſeverity of his character, was a conſummate general, endeavoured to make the poſſeſſion of Stettin uſeleſs to the King of Sweden, though he could not expel him from it. He intrenched himſelf at Garz, above Stettin, on the Oder, to cut off the communication of the town with Germany. Nothing could prevail upon him to give battle to the King, who was ſuperior in ſtrength: the latter was equally cautious in not ſtorming the intrenchments of the Imperialiſts. Torquato, wanting both men and money, intended by this plan of operations to gain time for Tilly to haſten to the aſſiſtance of Pomerania, and then, in conjunction with that general, to advance upon the Swedes. He took advantage of the King's abſence to make an attempt to ſurpriſe Stettin; but the Swedes were prepared for him. A ſpirited attack of the Imperialiſts was firmly ſuſtained, and Torquato retired with great loſs. It is not to be denied, that Guſtavus Adolphus owed this ſucceſsful commencement of the war as much to fortune as

to

to his military talents. The Imperial troops in Pomerania were greatly reduced ſince Wallenſtein's diſmiſſal. Their ravages were now ſeverely retorted upon them: an exhauſted deſolated country could no longer afford the means of ſubſiſtence; diſcipline was loſt, and the troops ceaſed to reſpect the orders of their officers. Their numbers viſibly diminiſhed, both by great deſertions and a mortality which the ſevere colds had brought among them in a ſtrange climate. Under theſe circumſtances the Imperial general was deſirous of allowing his troops the repoſe of winter quarters. But he had to oppoſe him an enemy who felt no winter in the climate of Germany. The Imperial plenipotentiaries who came to treat for a ceſſation of hoſtilities received the following diſcouraging anſwer: "The Swedes "are ſoldiers in winter as well as in ſummer, "and not diſpoſed to oppreſs the poor inha-"bitants. The Imperialiſts may act as they "think proper, but they muſt not expect to "remain quiet." Shortly after Torquato Conti reſigned a command which offered neither riches nor reputation.

From this unequal ſtate of both armies, the advantage muſt naturally have been on the

Swediſh ſide. The Imperialiſts were perpetually haraſſed in their winter quarters; Greifenhagen, an important place upon the Oder, was taken by ſtorm, and the towns of Gartz and Piritz were at length abandoned by the enemy. Of all Pomerania, Griefswald, Demmin, and Colburg alone, remained in their hands, and the King made the neceſſary preparations to beſiege theſe places. The flying enemy directed his courſe towards the March of Brandenburg, not without ſuſtaining great loſs in artillery, baggage, and men, which fell into the hands of their purſuers.

By ſeizing the paſſes at Ribnitz and Damgarten, Guſtavus Adolphus had opened himſelf the paſſage into Mecklenburg, whoſe inhabitants were invited by a manifeſto to return under the allegiance of their legitimate ſovereign, and to expel Wallenſtein's party. The Auſtrians, however, made themſelves maſters of the important town of Roſtock, which prevented the farther advances of the King, who was unwilling to divide his forces. The Dukes of Mecklenburg had in vain employed the good offices of the princes aſſembled at Ratiſbon in their favour with the Emperor; they had in vain, in order to ſoften Ferdinand, renounced the

Swediſh

Swediſh alliance and every idea of reſiſtance. But rendered deſperate by the Emperor's inflexibility, they now openly eſpouſed the party of the King of Sweden, and raiſed troops, the command of which they gave to Francis Charles Duke of Saxe Lauenburg. This general made himſelf maſter of ſome ſtrong places on the Elbe, but loſt them afterwards to the Imperial general Pappenheim, who was detached againſt him. Soon after, beſieged by the latter in the town of Ratzeburg, he ſaw himſelf, after a fruitleſs attempt to make his eſcape, obliged to ſurrender with all his troops priſoners. Thus ended the attempt which thoſe unfortunate princes made towards their reinſtatement, and it was reſerved for the victorious army of Guſtavus Adolphus to render them that important ſervice.

The flying bands of the Auſtrians had thrown themſelves into the March of Brandenburg, which now became the ſcene of their ravages. Not contented with making the moſt wanton executions, and vexing the people by quartering ſoldiers upon them, theſe barbarians plundered the houſes, ranſacked every place where they ſuſpected property to be concealed, took all the proviſions which they could find, ill-treated

thofe who made the flighteft oppofition, and ravifhed even pregnant women. All this was not even committed in an enemy's country. It was the ufage which the fubjects of a prince received who had never injured the Emperor; and would, notwithftanding all thofe infults, willingly have been perfuaded by the latter to join him againft the King of Sweden. The afpect of thofe dreadful diforders which the want of money, and of fufficient authority, compelled them to tolerate, excited even the difpleafure of the Auftrian officers; and the general, Count Schaumburg, from fhame wifhed to lay down the command. Without force fufficient to defend his territories, and left without affiftance by the Emperor, who paid no attention to the moft preffing remonftrances, the Elector at length iffued an edict, ordering his fubjects to repel force by force, and to kill without mercy every Imperial foldier who fhould in future be detected in plundering. To fuch a length were brought the ravages of the country, and the mifery of its government, that the only defperate remedy which remained to the fovereign was to encourage private vengeance by a formal law.

The Imperialifts were followed by the Swedes into the March of Brandenburg; but upon the Elector's refufal to permit the latter to pafs through the fortrefs of Cuftrin, the King was obliged to lay afide the defign he had formed of befieging Frankfort on the Oder. He returned to complete the conqueft of Pomerania, by taking Demmin and Colburg; in the mean time Field-marfhal Tilly was advancing to defend Brandenburg.

This general, who could boaft of never hitherto lofing a battle, the conqueror of Manffeld, the Duke of Brunfwic, the Margrave of Baden, and the King of Denmark, was now, in the Swedifh monarch, to find an adverfary worthy of him. Tilly was defcended from a noble family in the Liege country, and had formed his talents in the wars of the Netherlands, which was then the fchool of generals. Soon after he had an opportunity of diftinguifhing himfelf under the Emperor Rodolph II. in Hungary, where he rapidly rofe from one ftep to another. After the peace he entered the fervice of the Duke of Bavaria, who made him commander in chief of his army, with abfolute authority. Tilly, by his excellent inftitutions, was the founder of the Bavarian army,

and it was to him that the Duke owed all the ſuperiority which he had hitherto maintained in the field. After the concluſion of the war in Bohemia he received the command of the army of the League, and now, upon Wallenſtein's diſmiſſal, that of the Imperial army. Equally ſtrict towards his troops, implacable towards his enemies, and of as impenetrable a diſpoſition as Wallenſtein, he far exceeded the latter in probity and diſintereſtedneſs. A bigotted zeal for religion, and a bloody ſpirit of perſecution, united with the natural ferocity of his character to render him the terror of the Proteſtants. A ſtrange and terrific aſpect betrayed his diſpoſition: of low ſtature; meagre, with hollow jaws, a long noſe, a broad forehead, large whiſkers, and a ſharp chin. He commonly appeared in a Spaniſh doublet of green atlas, with cloſe ſleeves, and a ſmall high-crowned hat, decorated with an enormous red feather, which reached down as far as his back. His whole aſpect recalled to recollection the Duke of Alva, the ſcourge of the Flemings, and his actions were far from effacing that impreſſion. Such was the general who was oppoſed to the hero of the North.

Tilly

Tilly was very far from entertaining a mean opinion of his antagoniſt: "The King of "Sweden," ſaid he, at the diet of Ratiſbon, "is an enemy whoſe prudence equals his va-"lour; he is inured to war, and in the flower "of his age. His diſpoſitions are excellent, "and his reſources not ſmall: the ſtates of "his kingdom are uncommonly attached to "him. His army, compoſed of Swedes, "Germans, Livonians, Finlanders, Scots, and "Engliſh, is blended into one nation by "blind obedience. This is the player from "whom much is won even by loſing nothing."

The progreſs of the King of Sweden in Brandenburg and Pomerania left the new general no time to loſe, and thoſe who commanded there called for him in the moſt preſſing manner. With all poſſible haſte he aſſembled the Imperial troops, who were ſcattered over the Empire; but it required a conſiderable time to procure the neceſſary ſupplies from the deſolated, impoveriſhed country. At length he appeared, in the midſt of winter, at the head of 20,000 men, before Frankfort on the Oder, where he joined the remainder of Schaumburg's troops. He left the defence of the fortreſs to the latter general with

with a sufficient garrison, and hastened to Pomerania, in order to save Demmin and relieve Colburg, which was already reduced to the utmost straits by the Swedes. But before he could leave Brandenburg, Demmin, which was extremely ill defended by the Duke of Savelli, was already in the hands of the King, and Colburg, after a siege of five months, was starved to a surrender. As the passes in Upper Pomerania were well guarded, and the King's camp near Schwedt defied every attack, Tilly abandoned his offensive plan of operations, and marched back towards the Elbe to besiege Magdeburg.

By the surrender of Demmin the entrance to Mecklenburg lay open to the King; but a more important undertaking drew his arms to another quarter. Tilly had no sooner commenced his retrograde march, than he instantly broke up his camp at Schwedt, and advanced with his whole army against Frankfort on the Oder. This town was but badly fortified, though defended by a garrison of 8000 men, mostly composed of those furious bands who had so cruelly ravaged Brandenburg and Pomerania. It was attacked with impetuosity, and on the third day taken by storm.

The

The Swedes, aſſured of victory, rejected a capitulation, though the enemy twice beat the *chamade*, determining to exerciſe the dreadful right of retaliation. Tilly had, ſoon after his arrival in this quarter, ſurrounded a Swediſh detachment in Brandenburg, and, exaſperated at the obſtinacy of their reſiſtance, had cut them in pieces to a man. This cruelty was now remembered by the Swedes when they took Frankfort. *Brandenburg quarter!* they replied to the Imperial ſoldiers who begged their lives, and ſlaughtered them without compaſſion. Several thouſands were killed or taken, a number were drowned in the Oder, the remainder fled to Sileſia, and all their artillery fell into the hands of the Swedes. To ſatisfy the rage of his troops, the King was under the neceſſity of giving up the town to be plundered for three hours.

While Guſtavus Adolphus haſtened from one victory to another, thereby encouraging the Proteſtants and augmenting their reſiſtance, the Emperor continued without intermiſſion to enforce the edict of reſtitution, and by exorbitant pretenſions to exhauſt the patience of the ſtates. Neceſſity now obliged him to have recourſe to acts of violence,

which he had heretofore practifed from infolence: from the embarraffment into which his arbitrary behaviour had thrown him, he could now only relieve himfelf by means equally arbitrary. But in fo complicated a body as the German empire is, and always has been, the hand of defpotifm muft ever create the utmoft confufion. With aftonifhment the princes faw the conftitution of their country overturned, and the approaching ftate of nature led them to felf-defence, the only remedy in fuch a fituation. At length, the open fteps which the Emperor took againft the Proteftant church undeceived the Elector of Saxony, who had fo long been the dupe of his artful policy. By the exclufion of his fon from the archbifhopric of Magdeburg, Ferdinand had perfonally offended him, and Field-marfhal Amheim, his new favourite and minifter, fpared no pains to increafe the refentment of his mafter. He had been formerly an Imperial general under Wallenftein, and being ftill the warm friend of the latter, he fought to avenge his old benefactor and himfelf upon the Emperor, and to detach the Elector of Saxony from the Auftrian interefts. The invafion of the Swedes feconded his intentions. Guftavus Adolphus was invincible, if once joined by the

Proteftant

Proteſtant ſtates; and this more alarmed the Emperor. Saxony's example might bring the reſt to declare themſelves; and the Emperor's fate appeared, in ſome meaſure, to depend upon the Elector John George. The artful favourite made his maſter ſenſible of his preſent importance, and adviſed him, by threatening an alliance with Sweden, to alarm the Emperor, and to extort from the fears of that prince the conditions which he could not obtain from his gratitude. Yet he was againſt abſolutely excluding him from the Swediſh alliance, in order, by maintaining his independence, to continue his importance. He perſuaded him to adopt a grand deſign (which nothing but an able genius prevented him from executing), to put himſelf at the head of the Proteſtants, to erect a third power in Germany, and thereby obtain the means of deciding the diſpute between Auſtria and Sweden.

This plan was the more flattering to John George, who equally hated the idea of being dependant upon Sweden, and remaining any longer under the Emperor's tyranny. He could not with indifference behold the German affairs under the diſpoſal of a foreign prince; and, notwithſtanding his ſlender capacity to act

act a principal part, his vanity could not content itself with a second. He therefore determined to draw every possible advantage from the progress of the Swedish king, but still to pursue his own plan independent of the latter. For this purpose he consulted with the Elector of Brandenburg, who, from similar causes, was prepared to act against the Emperor, and, at the same time, was jealous of Sweden. After he had, in a diet held at Torgau, secured the Saxon states, whose consent was absolutely necessary to forward his plan, he invited all the Protestant states of the Empire to a general convention, which was opened at Leipsic on the 6th of February 1631. Brandenburg and Hesse Cassel, with several princes, counts, states of the Empire, and Protestant bishops, appeared in this assembly, either personally or by their deputies; and the business was opened by a vehement pulpit oration from the Saxon state chaplain, Dr. Hoe of Hohenegg. In vain did the Emperor endeavour to suppress this arbitrary meeting, which apparently reckoned upon its own strength, and was particularly alarming when the Swedes were in the Empire. The princes who assembled, encouraged by the progress of Gustavus Adolphus, maintained their rights, and in two months

months broke up, after coming to a remarkable resolution, which put Ferdinand in no small embarrassment. The purpose of this was effectually to address the Emperor to recall the edict of restitution, to withdraw his troops from their residences and fortresses, to suspend the executions, and abolish all the abuses hitherto practised; in the mean time, however, to assemble an army of 40,000 men, to be prepared to redress their grievances by force, should the Emperor refuse compliance.

An incident took place at the same time, which contributed not a little to augment the resolution of the Protestant princes. The King of Sweden had at length overcome the scruples which had hitherto deterred him from a closer union with France, and on the 13th of January 1631, concluded a formal treaty with that crown. After a very serious dispute concerning the future treatment of the Catholic princes of the Empire, whom France had taken under her protection, and upon whom Gustavus, on the contrary, was desirous of retaliating; and a wrangle of less importance, on the title of *His Majesty*, which the pride of France denied that of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus at length yielded in the former, and Richelieu

in the latter article; and the treaty of alliance was ſigned at Beerwald, in the New Mark. Both powers bound themſelves to defend each other reciprocally by force of arms; to reinſtate the expelled princes of the Empire; to protect their common friends; and on the borders as well as in the interior of Germany to place matters upon the ſame footing in which they were at the commencement of the war. For this purpoſe Sweden engaged to maintain an army of 30,000 men in Germany, upon condition of receiving from France a yearly ſubſidy of 400,000 dollars. Wherever fortune attended the arms of Guſtavus Adolphus, he was to reſpect, in all the conquered places, the Catholic religion and the laws of the Empire, and to make no change in either. The treaty was to be open for the admiſſion of foreign ſtates and princes, and no one party was to conclude a ſeparate peace without the participation and conſent of the other. This treaty was to continue in force five years.

Whatever efforts within himſelf it had coſt the King of Sweden to receive ſubſidies from France, and to ſacrifice the power of carrying on the war independently, this alliance was deciſive for his cauſe in Germany. It

It was now, when he was protected by the greatest power in Europe, that the ſtates of Germany began to have a confidence in his undertaking, for the iſſue of which they had hitherto trembled, not without cauſe. It was now he became truly formidable to the Emperor. Even the Catholic princes, who were deſirous of beholding the Emperor's humiliation, beheld with little jealouſy his progreſs in Germany, ſince his alliance with a Catholic power ſecured their religion. Thus, while the invaſion of Guſtavus Adolphus protected the Proteſtants, and the liberty of the Empire againſt Ferdinand's oppreſſion, the interference of France would equally defend the Catholic religion, and the liberties of Germany, againſt Guſtavus Adolphus, ſhould that prince, in the intoxication of ſucceſs, venture to exceed the bounds of moderation.

The King of Sweden did not heſitate to communicate the treaty which he had concluded with France to the princes of the confederacy of Leipzig, and to invite them to a cloſer union with him. France alſo ſeconded him in this effort, and ſpared no pains to prevail upon the Elector of Saxony. Guſtavus

 Adolphus

Adolphus was ſatisfied with a private ſupport, provided the princes ſtill thought it too bold a ſtep to declare themſelves. Several princes gave him hopes that they would eſpouſe his cauſe ſo ſoon as circumſtances would permit: the Elector of Saxony, always full of diſtruſt and jealouſy towards the King, and conſtantly adhering to his ſelfiſh ſyſtem of politics, could not be prevailed upon to act openly.

The concluſion of the convention of Leipzig, and the alliance between France and Sweden, were news equally diſagreeable to the Emperor. Againſt them he employed the thunder of Imperial ordinances, and the want of an army alone prevented him from diſplaying towards France the entire force of his diſpleaſure. Reſtrictions were laid upon all the members of the convention at Leipzig, by which they were, in the ſevereſt manner, prohibited from enliſting troops. They anſwered with the ſharpeſt remonſtrances, juſtified their conduct upon the principle of natural right, and continued their preparations.

In the mean time the Imperial generals, from want of money and troops, found themſelves reduced to the neceſſity of confining their hoſtility either to the King of Sweden, or to the

the ſtates of the Empire, as, with a divided power, they were a match for neither. The movements of the Proteſtants drew their attention to the interior of the Empire; the King of Sweden's progreſs in the March of Brandenburg, which threatened the hereditary dominions of the Emperor in the vicinity, required them, without delay, to turn their arms to that quarter. After the conqueſt of Frankfort, the King advanced againſt Landſburg on the Warta; and Tilly, unſucceſsful in an attempt to relieve the former town, returned to Magdeburg to proſecute its ſiege.

The rich biſhopric of which Magdeburg was the capital, was for a conſiderable time governed by Proteſtant princes of the houſe of Brandenburg, who introduced their religion there. Chriſtian William, the laſt adminiſtrator, had, by his connexion with Denmark, fallen under the bann of the Empire, by which means the chapter, to avoid the Emperor's diſpleaſure, found themſelves under the neceſſity of formally depoſing him. In his ſtead they placed John Auguſtus, ſecond ſon of the Elector of Saxony, whom the Emperor rejected, in order to confer that archbiſhopric on his own ſon Leopold. The Elector of Saxony made, upon this occaſion, inef-

fectual complaints to the Imperial court. Christian William of Brandenburg took more active measures. Assured of the attachment of the magistrates and inhabitants of Magdeburg, and excited by chimerical hopes, he thought himself capable of surmounting all the obstacles which the decision of the chapter, the opposition of two powerful competitors, and the edict of restitution, presented to his election. He went to Sweden, and sought, by the promise of a powerful diversion in Germany, to promote his cause. That king did not leave him without the hope of efficacious support, but at the same time cautioned him to act with prudence.

Scarcely had Christian William been informed of the landing of his protector in Pomerania, when he entered Magdeburg in disguise. He appeared suddenly in the town-council, reminded the magistrates of the destructive ravages which both the town and country had suffered from the Imperial troops, the ruinous pretensions of Ferdinand, and the danger of the Protestant church. After this prelude he disclosed to them that the moment of their deliverance was arrived, and that Gustavus Adolphus offered them his alliance and every

every affiftance. Magdeburg, one of the principal towns in Germany, enjoyed under its magiftrates a republican freedom, which infpired its inhabitants with a heroic enthufiafm; of this they had already difplayed towards Wallenftein (who, captivated by their riches, had made exorbitant demands) the moft laudable proofs, and maintained their rights by a vigorous refiftance: their territory had in fact experienced the deftructive rage of his troops, but Magdeburg itfelf efcaped his vengeance. It was not, therefore, difficult for the Adminiftrator to gain adherents among a people in whofe memory a fenfe of paft fufferings was ftill recent. An alliance was concluded between the city and the King of Sweden, in which Magdeburg granted the latter a free paffage through its gates and territories, with a liberty of recruiting; and obtained the moft effectual promife of protection for its religion and privileges.

The Adminiftrator immediately collected troops, and commenced hoftilities before Guftavus Adolphus was fufficiently near effectually to fupport him. He fucceeded in defeating fome Auftrian detachments in the neighbourhood,

made a few ſmall conqueſts, and even ſurpriſed Halle. But the approach of an Imperial army obliged him with all poſſible haſte, and not without loſs, to retreat to Magdeburg. Guſtavus Adolphus, though diſpleaſed with this overhaſty commencement, ſent Falkenburg, an experienced officer, to regulate the military operations, and aſſiſt him with his counſel. Falkenburg was appointed by the magiſtrates governor of the town during the war; the Prince's army was daily increaſed by recruits arriving from the neighbouring towns; he gained ſeveral advantages over the Imperial regiments which were ſent againſt him; and was able, for ſeveral months, to maintain with ſucceſs a war of ſkirmiſhes.

At length Count Pappenheim approached, after concluding his expedition againſt the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, and having driven the Adminiſtrator's troops from their outpoſts, cut off all their communication with Saxony, and began to inveſt the place. He was ſoon after followed by Tilly, who ſummoned the Adminiſtrator, in a haughty letter, no longer to reſiſt the edict of reſtitution, and to deliver up the town in obedience to the Emperor's commands. But the refuſal of the Prince, couched in the moſt reſo-

lute

lute terms, obliged Tilly to have recourse to the force of arms.

Meanwhile the siege was prolonged, by reason of the King of Sweden's progress, which called the Austrian generals from before the place; and the jealousy which his successor entertained of him, procrastinated the fate of Magdeburg some months. But on the 30th of March 1631, Tilly returned, and began to prosecute the siege with great vigour.

In a short time all the outworks were carried, and Falkenburg withdrew the garrison from the opposite side of the river, after having destroyed the bridge upon the Elbe. As there were in the place troops sufficient to defend its extensive suburbs, those of Sudenburg and Neustadt were abandoned to the enemy, who immediately laid them in ashes. Pappenheim, quitting Tilly's corps, passed the Elbe at Schoenenbeck, to attack the town upon the opposite side.

The garrison, weakened by the action in the suburbs, amounted to no more than two thousand infantry, and some hundred horse; a small number for so extensive and irregular a fortress.

To ſupply the deficiency, the citizens were armed; a deſperate expedient, which cauſed greater evils than it prevented. The citizens, naturally inexpert ſoldiers, ruined the town by their diſſenſions; the poorer ſort complained that they were expoſed to every danger and difficulty, while the rich, by hiring others to perform their duty, remained within their houſes in ſafety. Their quarrels terminated in an open mutiny; indifference ſucceeded zeal, and vigilance gave place to neglect; their diviſions, heightened by neceſſity, gradually produced deſpair, and many already began to repent of the oppoſition which they made to the Emperor. But religious zeal, the love of liberty, and their invincible hatred to the yoke of Auſtria, added to the expectation of ſpeedy relief, made them ſtill diſdain the idea of a ſurrender; and though divided among themſelves, they were united in the reſolution of defending the ramparts to the laſt extremity.

The hopes of ſuccour entertained by the beſieged were not ill-grounded; they were informed of the confederacy of Leipzig, and the approach of Guſtavus Adolphus; both were alike intereſted in the preſervation of Magdeburg, and in a few days the King of Sweden

was

was expected before its gates. These circumstances were not unknown to Tilly, who therefore hastened to make himself master of the place. He dispatched a trumpeter with several letters to the Administrator, the governor, and the citizens, to induce them to surrender; but he received for answer that death was preferable. A spirited attack of the garrison convinced him that their resolution was not abated; and the King of Sweden's arrival in Potsdam, together with the incursions of the Swedes as far as Zerbst, gave him uneasiness, while it raised the hopes of the garrison. A second trumpeter was sent, and the more moderate tone of his demands further increased their presumption and negligence.

The besiegers had now pushed their approaches as far as the ditch, and vigorously cannonaded the walls from their batteries; one tower was entirely overthrown, but did not facilitate the enemy's attack, as it fell on one side, and not into the ditch. Notwithstanding the continual bombardment, the walls had not suffered much; and the effect of the fire-balls, intended to kindle flames in the town, was prevented by the excellent measures which were taken

taken to oppose them. But the ammunition of the besieged was now expended, and the fire from the town ceased gradually to return that of the Imperialists. Before a fresh supply could be obtained, it was necessary that Magdeburg should be either relieved or surrender to the enemy. The expectations of the besieged were now raised to the utmost, and all eyes were anxiously turned towards the quarter where the Swedish standard was expected to appear. Gustavus Adolphus was sufficiently near to be able to reach Magdeburg in three days; the security of the besieged augmented with their hopes, and every circumstance contributed to increase it. On the 9th of May the fire of the Imperialists suddenly ceased, and the cannon were withdrawn from several of their batteries. Every circumstance now tended to inspire the besieged with the speedy hopes of relief; the greater part of the guard, both citizens and soldiers, left their posts on the ramparts early in the morning, in order, after their long toils, to indulge themselves in sleep. But it was a dear sleep, and miserable waking!

Tilly had at length relinquished the hope of being able to render himself master of the place, before the arrival of the Swedes, by the means

means which he had hitherto employed, and determined to raiſe the ſiege, but previouſly make a general aſſault. That plan was, however, attended with much difficulty, as no breach had been effected, and the works were ſcarcely injured; but the council of war, aſſembled on the occaſion, declared unanimouſly for an aſſault, citing the example of Maeſtricht, which was taken by ſtorm early in the morning, while the burghers and ſoldiers were repoſing themſelves*.

It was accordingly reſolved upon to attack the town at once in four different places; and the neceſſary preparations were made during the night of the 9th and 10th of May. All was ready, and awaited the ſignal of cannon at five in the morning; the ſignal was not, however, given until two hours later, as Tilly, ſtill doubtful of ſucceſs, had re-aſſembled the council of war. Pappenheim was ordered to ſtorm the works of the new town, where he was favoured by a low rampart and a dry ditch of moderate depth; the citizens and ſoldiers had

* This was in the preceding century, by Alexander of Parma. See the elaborate deſcription of it in Strada de Bello Belgico. The ſame arguments were urged by the celebrated Vauban afterwards, in ſtorming Valenciennes, and ſucceeded. *Tranſ.*

moſtly

moftly abandoned the walls, and the remaining few were overcome by fleep; it therefore became eafy for this general to gain the outworks.

Falkenburg, aroufed by the report of fmall arms, haftened from the town-houfe, where he was employed in difpatching Tilly's fecond trumpeter, to affemble all the force he could meet, and went to the gate of the new town, of which the enemy had already taken poffeffion. There repulfed, the brave general flew to another, where a fecond detachment of the enemy was preparing to fcale the walls; after an ineffectual refiftance, he fell in the commencement of the action. The vehement fire of mufketry, and the fhouts of the affailants, at length awoke the inhabitants; they immediately betook themfelves to arms, and oppofed the enemy in a confufed manner. Still fome hopes of repulfing the befiegers remained; but the governor being killed, there was no plan of attack, no cavalry to fupport the garrifon; and at length, their powder being exhaufted, nothing remained to fuftain the fire. Two other gates, hitherto unattacked, were ftripped of their defenders to relieve the town in another quarter; the enemy rapidly availed themfelves of the confufion occafioned by this, to attack

thofe

those posts: the resistance was nevertheless obstinate, until four Imperial regiments, at length masters of the ramparts, took the garrison in the rear, and completed their confusion. A brave captain named Schmidt, whose intrepidity led him amid the tumult, made a final assault upon the enemy, and even repulsed them to the gates; but at length being killed, the hopes of Magdeburg expired with him; all the works were carried before noon, and the town was in possession of the enemy.

Two gates were now opened by the assailants for the remainder of the army, and Tilly immediately entered with a part of his infantry; he took possession of the principal streets, and with pointed cannon ordered the citizens into their houses to await their destiny. They were not long held in suspense; a word from Tilly decided the fate of Magdeburg. Even the efforts of a more humane general would have in vain attempted to restrain such troops within bounds: but this commander did not once recommend mercy. Left at his own disposal by the silence of his general, the soldier broke into houses to satiate his most brutal appetites; the imploring innocence which found compassion from the Germans, could meet with none from

from Pappenheim's Walloons. Scarce had the maſſacre commenced, when the remaining gates were thrown open, and all the cavalry and Croats let looſe againſt the unfortunate inhabitants.

Here commenced a ſcene, to deſcribe which, hiſtory has no language, poetry no pencil. Neither the innocence of childhood, nor the debility of old age; neither youth, ſex, beauty, nor condition, could diſarm the fury of the conquerors. Wives were abuſed in the arms of their huſbands, daughters at the feet of their parents, and the defenceleſs ſex was expoſed to the double ſacrifice of virtue and life; no ſituation, however ſacred or elevated, was exempt from inſult. Fifty-three dead bodies of women who had been beheaded were found in the cathedral: the Croats amuſed themſelves in throwing children into the flames; Pappenheim's Walloons in murdering infants at the breaſt. Some officers of the Catholic League, ſhocked at thoſe frightful ſcenes, entreated Tilly to ſtop the effuſion of blood. "Return in an hour," was his ſtern anſwer; "I will then ſee what is "to be done; the ſoldier muſt have ſome "reward for his toils." The maſſacre laſted with inceſſant fury until the ſmoke and flames inter-

interrupted the plunderers. To augment the confusion, and prevent the resistance of the inhabitants, the town had been set on fire in different quarters; a storm arose which spread the flames with rapidity, and soon made them universal. The horrors of the scene were augmented by the dead bodies, falling ruins, and streams of blood; the atmosphere was heated, and the intenseness of the vapour at length compelled the conquerors to take refuge in their camp. In less than twelve hours this strong, populous, and extensive city, one of the finest in Germany, lay in ashes, with the exception of two churches and a few houses. The Administrator, Christian William, after receiving a number of wounds, was taken prisoner, together with three burgomasters. A number of brave officers and magistrates were killed. The avarice of the Imperial officers spared four hundred of the citizens from the slaughter, to obtain from them an exorbitant ransom. Even this piece of humanity, which made them appear guardian angels in comparison with the Austrians, was principally shown by the officers of the League.

Scarce was the fury of the flames diminished, when the Imperialists returned to continue the

pillage amid the ruins and afhes; feveral of them were fuffocated in the fmoke; many obtained rich booty in the cellars, where the inhabitants had concealed their moft valuable effects. On the 13th of May, Tilly himfelf appeared in the town. Horrible was the fcene which prefented itfelf to humanity! The living crawling from under the dead; children wandering about with heart-rending cries, calling for their parents; infants fuckling at the dead bodies of their mothers!

Above fix thoufand flain were thrown into the Elbe to clear the ftreets; a much greater number were confumed by the flames. The entire amount of the flaughtered was calculated at thirty thoufand.

The entry of the general, which took place on the 14th, put a ftop to the plunder, and faved thofe who had hitherto been fpared. About a thoufand people were taken out of the cathedral, where they had remained three days and two nights without food, and in continual fear of death; Tilly announced to them quarter, and ordered bread to be diftributed among them. The next day a folemn mafs

4 was

was performed in this cathedral, and *Te Deum* ſung under a diſcharge of artillery. The Imperial general rode through the ſtreets, the better, as an eye-witneſs, to be able to inform his maſter that no ſuch conqueſt had been made ſince the deſtruction of Troy and Jeruſalem. Neither was this aſſertion exaggerated, if we conſider the greatneſs, the proſperity, the importance of the city razed, together with the fury of its conquerors.

The news of the dreadful fate of Magdeburg excited exultation among the Catholics, and ſpread terror and diſmay among the Proteſtants of Germany. Loud and general complaints were uttered againſt the King of Sweden, who, at the head of ſuch a force, and in the very neighbourhood, left to its fate this city, which was allied to him. Even the moſt rational found the King's inactivity incomprehenſible; and Guſtavus Adolphus, that he might not irrecoverably loſe the attachment of a people to whoſe delivery he was come, ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of publiſhing to the world a juſtification of his conduct upon this occaſion.

He had attacked Landſburg, and gained it on the 16th of April, when he learned the danger to which Magdeburg was expoſed. Without delay he determined to relieve it, and immediately putting himſelf at the head of all his cavalry, and ten regiments of infantry, marched towards the Spree. The ſituation in which he found himſelf, rendered it neceſſary that he ſhould not move forward without previouſly ſecuring his rear. With caution he muſt now traverſe a country where he was ſurrounded by ſuſpicious friends and formidable enemies, and where one falſe ſtep would cut him off from his own country. The Elector of Brandenburg had already opened Cuſtrin to the flying Imperialiſts, and ſhut it againſt their Swediſh purſuers. Were Guſtavus to be unfortunate againſt Tilly, this Elector could open all his fortreſſes to the Imperialiſts, and the King, with an enemy in front and rear, was then irrecoverably loſt. To avoid this accident in his preſent undertaking, before he advanced to relieve Magdeburg, he required from the Elector the ceſſion of Cuſtrin and Spandau *.

* The King's conduct upon this occaſion, as well as on all others, diſplays a conſummate generalſhip. *Tranſ.*

Nothing appeared more reaſonable than this demand. The great ſervice which Guſtavus Adolphus had lately rendered the Elector by the expulſion of the Imperialiſts from the territories of Brandenburg, afforded him a claim to gratitude, while the conduct of the Swedes in Germany gave them pretenſions to confidence. But by the ſurrender of his fortreſſes, the Elector, in ſome meaſure, made the King of Sweden maſter of his country, breaking with the Emperor, and thereby expoſing his territories to the future vengeance of the Imperialiſts. George William had a long conteſt with himſelf, but puſillanimity and ſelf-intereſt at length appeared to prevail. Unmoved by the fate of Magdeburg, callous towards religion and German liberty, he ſaw nothing but his own danger; and this indifference was increaſed to the utmoſt pitch by his miniſter Schwartzenberg, who was privately corrupted by the Emperor. In the mean time, the Swediſh troops drew near Berlin, and the King took up his reſidence with the Elector. When he perceived the painful anxiety of this prince, he could not contain his diſpleaſure: "I march," ſaid he, "to relieve Magdeburg, not for my "own advantage, but for that of the Proteſtant "religion. If unſupported, I will immediately

 "begin

" begin my retreat, enter into a treaty with " the Emperor, and return to Stockholm. I " am convinced that Ferdinand will grant me " whatever peace I require. But if Magde-" burg is once loſt, and the Emperor relieved " from his apprehenſions of me, reflect upon " the conſequences." This timely threat, and perhaps alſo the aſpect of the Swediſh army, which was ſufficiently powerful to obtain that by force which he demanded peaceably, at length influenced the Elector to deliver Spandau into his hands.

The King now poſſeſſed two roads to Magdeburg, of which one to the weſtward led through an exhauſted country, and amid the enemy's troops, who might diſpute the paſſage of the Elbe with him. But this could not take place without the conſent of the Elector of Saxony, in whom Guſtavus placed the utmoſt diſtruſt. Accordingly, previous to his beginning his march, he demanded of that prince a free paſſage and ſubſiſtence for his troops, on ready payment. His demand was rejected, and no repreſentations could prevail upon the Elector to depart from his ſyſtem of neutrality. While this point was diſputed, intelligence arrived of the capture of Magdeburg.

Tilly announced this event to the Proteſtant princes in the tone of a conqueror, and loſt not a moment to profit by the univerſal conſternation it excited. The Emperor's conſequence, viſibly diminiſhed by the progreſs which Guſtavus Adolphus had already made, was raiſed higher than ever upon this deciſive event; and he ſoon diſplayed this alteration in the imperious language with which he addreſſed the Proteſtant ſtates. The reſolutions of the confederacy of Leipzig were annulled by a proclamation, itſelf was ſuppreſſed by an Imperial decree, and all the refractory ſtates were threatened with the fate of Magdeburg. As executor of this Imperial mandate, Tilly immediately ordered troops to march againſt the Biſhop of Bremen, who was a member of the confederacy of Leipzig, and had enliſted ſoldiers. The terrified Biſhop immediately gave them up to the General, and formally renounced the confederacy of Leipzig. An Imperial army, which had lately returned from Italy, under the command of Count Furſtenberg, acted in the ſame manner towards the Adminiſtrator of Wirtemberg. The Duke was obliged to ſubmit to the edict of reſtitution, and all the decrees of the Emperor; and alſo to pay a monthly ſubſidy of 100,000 dollars,

dollars, towards ſubſiſting the Imperial army. Similar grievances were impoſed upon Ulm and Nuremberg, and the entire circles of Suabia and Franconia. The Emperor was now become the terror of Germany. The ſudden ſuperiority which he obtained upon the occaſion, more from appearance than reality, made him exceed the bounds of that moderation which he had hitherto obſerved, and led him to violent meaſures, which at length turned the irreſolution of the German princes to the advantage of Guſtavus Adolphus. The immediate conſequences of Magdeburg's deſtruction were not more injurious to the Proteſtants, than its diſtant effects were advantageous. The firſt ſurpriſe ſoon made room for an active reſentment. Deſpair afforded courage, and the liberties of Germany aroſe out of the aſhes of Magdeburg.

Among the princes of the Leipzig confederacy, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel were the moſt powerful, and the Emperor's authority remained unconfirmed until they were diſarmed. Tilly firſt turned his arms againſt the Landgrave, and marched from Magdeburg towards Thuringia. The countries of Saxe Erneſt and Schwartzenburg were

were upon this march extremely ill treated, and Frankenhauſen, even before the eyes of Tilly, plundered and laid in aſhes with impunity. The unfortunate ſubject muſt, upon this occaſion, make dear ſacrifices for his maſter's attachment to Sweden. Erfurt, the key between Saxony and Franconia, was threatened with a ſiege; from which, however, it redeemed itſelf by ſupplying the Imperialiſts with proviſions and a ſum of money. From thence Tilly diſpatched his ambaſſadors to the Landgrave of Caſſel, to require the immediate diſmiſſal of his forces; the renunciation of the confederacy of Leipzig; the reception of Imperial troops in his territory and fortreſſes, for the purpoſe of raiſing contributions; and either to declare himſelf a friend or an enemy. Such was the treatment which a ſovereign prince of Germany was now to receive from a ſervant of the Emperor. But theſe extravagant demands acquired a formidable weight from the force which accompanied them, and the recent remembrance of the dreadful fate of Magdeburg muſt naturally increaſe their impreſſion. This renders the intrepidity of the Landgrave's following anſwer the more admirable: "The "admiſſion of foreign troops into his fortreſſes "and capital, the Landgrave cannot allow; "his

"his troops he himſelf wants; he will reſiſt "any attack. If General Tilly requires money "and proviſions, he need only go to Munich, "where there is a ſupply of both." The irruptions of two bodies of Imperialiſts into Heſſe-Caſſel were the immediate conſequence of this ſpirited anſwer; but the Landgrave gave them ſuch a reception that they gained nothing. But after Tilly himſelf was on the point of following them with his whole army, the unfortunate country would have dearly purchaſed the firmneſs of its ſovereign, if the movements of the King of Sweden had not, at a critical moment, recalled that general to another quarter.

Guſtavus Adolphus had, with the ſevereſt affliction, learned the deſtruction of Magdeburg; and this was now augmented by the demand of George William, of having Spandau reſtored to him according to their agreement. The loſs of Magdeburg had rather augmented than leſſened the motives for which the King ſought poſſeſſion of that fortreſs: and the greater the probability of a deciſive battle between him and Tilly became, the more painful it was to relinquiſh the ſole retreat which he poſſeſſed in caſe of a defeat. After he had fruitleſsly expended his entreaties and remon-

remonſtrances with the Elector of Brandenburg, and the coldneſs of the latter rather daily increaſed, he at length ſent orders to his commander at Spandau to evacuate the place; but at the ſame time declared, that he would from that day regard the Elector as an enemy.

To give weight to this declaration, he appeared at the head of his whole army before Berlin. "I will not be worſe treated than "the Emperor's generals," was his anſwer to the deputies which the confounded Elector ſent to his camp: "your maſter has received "them in his territories, provided them with "every neceſſary, delivered up every place "which they deſired, and yet, by all theſe "acts of complaiſance, could not prevail "upon them to act with humanity towards "his people. All that I require from him "is ſecurity, a moderate ſum of money, and "bread for my troops: in return for which I "promiſe to protect his country, and to keep "the war at a diſtance from him. On theſe "points, however, I muſt reſt, and my bro- "ther the Elector muſt inſtantly determine to "have me as a friend, or ſee his capital plun- "dered." This deciſive tone made an impreſſion, and the pointing of cannon againſt the town

town overcame the doubts of George William. In a few days a treaty was ſigned, in which the Elector agreed to pay 30,000 dollars monthly, to leave Spandau in the King's hands, and engaged to open Cuſtrin at all times to his troops. This deciſive alliance of the Elector of Brandenburg with the Swedes found no better reception in Vienna than that of the Duke of Pomerania had formerly done; but the unfavourable change of fortune which it ſoon after experienced permitted the Emperor to diſplay his reſentment in no other manner than by his words.

The King's pleaſure upon this agreeable intelligence was augmented on hearing that Griefswald, the only fortreſs which the Imperialiſts maintained in Pomerania, had ſurrendered, and that the whole country was cleared of this deſperate enemy. He appeared once more in this dutchy, and was much gratified at the univerſal joy with which the people received him. A year had elapſed ſince Guſtavus had entered Germany, and that event was now celebrated by the whole dutchy of Pomerania as a feſtival. A ſhort time before, the Czar of Muſcovy had ſent ambaſſadors to congratulate him, renew his alliance, and

and even offer him troops. He had the greater reaſon to rejoice at this friendly diſpoſition of the Ruſſians, as it was contrary to his intereſts in this dangerous war to be diſturbed in his progreſs. Not long after his Queen, Maria Eleonora, landed with a reinforcement of 8000 men in Pomerania; and the arrival of 6000 Engliſh troops under the Marquis of Hamilton, can be the leſs paſſed in ſilence, as *their arrival alone* is all which hiſtory mentions of the Engliſh troops during the thirty years war *.

Pappenheim had, during Tilly's expedition to Thuringia, commanded in the territories of Magdeburg, but could not prevent the Swedes from paſſing the Elbe at various times, cutting off a number of Imperial detachments, and taking poſſeſſion of ſeveral places. He himſelf, rendered anxious by the King of Sweden's approach, immediately recalled Tilly, and pre-

* Theſe auxiliaries were Scots and Engliſh, and afford the firſt example, perhaps, that ever occurred, of Britiſh troops performing nothing worthy of their native country in a foreign one. They were, however, commanded by a hypocrite and a coward, as his ſubſequent conduct, when oppoſed to Cromwell, ſhowed him to be. *Tranſ.*

vailed

vailed upon him to return by rapid marches to Magdeburg. Tilly encamped on one fide of the river at Wolmerftadt; Guftavus Adolphus placed himfelf at Werben, near the conflux of the Havel and the Elbe. The latter's approach in thefe quarters portended no advantage to Tilly. The Swedes routed three of his regiments which were pofted in villages at a diftance from the army, took one half of their baggage, and burned the remainder. Tilly in vain approached within cannon-fhot of the King's camp, and offered him battle. Guftavus, one half weaker than his adverfary, prudently declined it; and his pofition was too ftrong to permit an attack. There enfued a cannonade and fome fkirmifhes, in which the Swedes had conftantly the advantage. Tilly's army was diminifhed on his retreat to Wolmerftadt by great defertion: ever fince the carnage of Magdeburg fortune had forfaken him; on the contrary, it had uninterruptedly attended the King of Sweden while he continued at Werben: all Mecklenburg, with the exception of a few places, was conquered by his general Tott, and the Duke Adolphus; and he enjoyed the fatisfaction of feeing both princes reinftated in their dominions. He went to Guftrow, where the reinftatement

ment took place, and by his preſence augmented the ſolemnity of the inſtallation. With their deliverer in the middle, and a ſplendid train of princes, both the Dukes made a ſolemn entry, which the joy of their ſubjects concluded in a ſincere feſtival. Soon after the King's return to Werben, the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel came to his camp, to conclude a cloſe offenſive and defenſive alliance with him—the firſt ſovereign primate in Germany who openly declared againſt the Emperor, but who was led to it by the moſt preſſing motives. The Landgrave engaged to act againſt the King's enemies as his own, to give him the free uſe of his territory and towns, and to ſupply his army with proviſions and every other neceſſary. In return for this, the King declared himſelf his friend and protector, and promiſed to conclude no peace without obtaining from the Emperor a full redreſs of grievances for the Landgrave. On both ſides ſincerity was obſerved. Heſſe Caſſel adhered, during the whole of this tedious war, to the Swediſh alliance; and had cauſe, at the peace of Weſtphalia, to boaſt of the Swediſh friendſhip.

Tilly, from whom the bold ſtep of the Landgrave was not long concealed, detached Count Tugger

Tugger with ſome regiments againſt him, and at the ſame time endeavoured to excite his ſubjects to rebellion by inflammatory letters. His letters made as little impreſſion as his regiments, which had in the ſequel ſuch bad ſucceſs in the action of Breitenfeld; and the Heſſian ſtates could not for a moment balance between their oppreſſor and their protector.

But the Imperial general was much more occupied by the equivocal conduct of the Elector of Saxony, who, notwithſtanding the Emperor's prohibition, continued his preparations, and adhered to the confederacy at Leipzig. At this conjunction, when the approach of the Swediſh King rendered a deciſive battle inevitable, it appeared a ſerious conſideration to let the Elector remain in arms, which he could in a moment convert to the uſe of the enemy. Tilly had juſt been reinforced by 25,000 veteran troops, commanded by Furſtenberg; and confident of his ſtrength, he truſted, by the bare terror of his arrival, or at leaſt with little trouble, to prevail upon the Elector to join him. Before he left his camp at Wolmerſtadt, he required the Elector, by a ſpecial embaſſy, to lay open his country to the Imperial troops, either to diſmiſs his own

or

or join them to the Imperial army, and, in conjunction with it, to expel the King of Sweden from Germany. He at the ſame time put him in mind, that of all the countries in Germany, Saxony was that which had been moſt reſpected; and threatened him, in caſe of refuſal, with the moſt deſtructive ravages.

Tilly had choſen for this imperative demand a period the moſt unfavourable. The perſecution of his religion and his allies, the deſtruction of Magdeburg, and the ravages of the Imperialiſts in Luſatia, all contributed to incenſe the Elector againſt the Emperor. The approach of Guſtavus Adolphus, however little pretenſion he had to this prince's protection, inſpired him with courage. He accordingly forbad the quartering of Imperialiſts in his territories, and reſolutely perſiſted in his warlike preparations. "However it muſt ſurpriſe him," added he, "to ſee the Imperial troops advancing towards his territories at a period "when the King of Sweden afforded them "ſufficient occupation, he had no expectation "of ſeeing his ſervices requited with ingratitude, and the ruin of his country." To Tilly's deputies, who were regaled in a princely manner, he gave a more deciſive anſwer on

their

their departure: "Gentlemen," ſaid he, "I "perceive the Saxon confectionary, which has "been ſo long ſpared, is at length to be ſet "upon the table. But as it is cuſtomary to "accompany it with nuts and diſhes of pa"rade, be cautious that your teeth do not "ſuffer on the occaſion."

Immediately upon this Tilly broke up his camp, and amid the moſt dreadful devaſtation advanced towards Halle, while he renewed his demands on the Elector of Saxony in a more earneſt and threatening tone. If we recollect the maxims hitherto obſerved by this prince, who by his own conceſſions and thoſe of his miniſter, had promoted the intereſts of the Emperor, at the expenſe of the duties which were moſt ſacred to him, and who had already been retained in inactivity with ſo little artifice, we muſt be amazed at the infatuation of the Emperor and his miniſter, who at this critical juncture oppoſed their true intereſts, and by violent meaſures incenſed a prince who might otherwiſe, by lenient ſteps have been ſo eaſily attached to them. Was this the object of Tilly? Was it in order to convert a doubtful friend into an open enemy, and thereby to abſolve himſelf from that clemency with which, by

by the Emperor's secret orders, he had treated the territories of that prince? Or was it the Emperor's intention to compel the Elector to embrace hostile measures, and to rid himself with a good grace from the understanding which he hitherto maintained with him? At all events, we cannot but be amazed at the haughtiness of Tilly, which could not refrain itself, in presence of a formidable enemy, from creating a new one, and the indifference of that general in permitting without opposition the union of both.

John George, rendered desperate by the entrance of Tilly into his territories, threw himself, not without a violent struggle, under the protection of Sweden.

Immediately upon dispatching Tilly's embassy, he sent Field-marshal Arnheim to the camp of Gustavus, to make a proffer of his alliance to that monarch, whom he had so long neglected. The King concealed the inward pleasure which this developement produced. "I am grieved," replied he coldly to the deputy, "for the Elector. Had he attended "to my repeated remonstrances, his country "would never have been invaded, and Mag-"deburg

"deburg would ſtill have remained uninjured. Now, when preſſed by neceſſity, he has recourſe to my aſſiſtance: but inform him that I am far from ſacrificing myſelf and my allies for the Elector of Saxony. Who can pledge himſelf for the ſincerity of a prince whoſe miniſter is in the pay of Auſtria, and who will abandon me ſo ſoon as the Emperor flatters him, and withdraws his troops from his dominions? Tilly has already conſiderably increaſed his army, but this ſhall not prevent me from meeting him when I have ſecured a retreat."

The Saxon miniſter could reply to theſe reproaches in no other terms than by promiſing to bury paſt tranſactions in oblivion. He preſſed the King to declare the conditions upon which he came to the aſſiſtance of Saxony, and engaged previouſly their being granted: "I deſire," anſwered Guſtavus, "that the Elector ſhall deliver me his fortreſs of Wittenberg, and his eldeſt ſons as hoſtages, three months pay for my troops, and that he ſhall deliver up the betrayer of his miniſtry: upon theſe conditions I am ready to afford him my aid."

"Not

"Not Wittenberg alone," anſwered the Elector, when he received this anſwer, and ſent back the miniſter to the Swediſh camp, "but "Torgau and all Saxony ſhall be open to "him; my whole family ſhall be his hoſtages; "and if that is inſufficient, I ſhall offer my-"ſelf. Return, and inform him that I am "ready to deliver him up ſuch traitors as he "names, to grant his army the deſired pay-"ment, and to expoſe my life and fortune in "a cauſe ſo juſt."

The King was only deſirous of putting the new ſentiments of John George to the teſt. Convinced of his ſincerity, he retracted his ſe-vere demands. "The diſtruſt," ſaid he, "which "was obſerved towards me when I advanced "to the relief of Magdeburg, had naturally "excited mine; the preſent reliance of the "Elector demands a return. I am ſatisfied, "provided he grants my army a month's "pay, and promiſe to indemnify him for this "grant."

Immediately after the concluſion of this treaty, the King croſſed the Elbe, and the next day joined the Saxons. Inſtead of op-poſing this junction, Tilly had advanced againſt

 Leipzig,

Leipzig, which he ſummoned to receive an Imperial garriſon. In the hope of a ſudden relief, the governor, Hans Pforta, had prepared for a defence, and laid the ſuburbs of Halle in aſhes. But the ill condition of the works rendered all reſiſtance vain, and on the ſecond day the gates were opened. Tilly had taken up his abode in the houſe of a grave-digger, the only one which remained ſtanding in the ſuburbs of Halle. Here he ſigned the capitulation, and was informed of the King of Sweden's immediate approach. Tilly grew pale at the repreſentation of death's-heads and bones, with which the proprietor had decorated his houſe. Leipzig experienced a moderation which was unexpected.

Meanwhile a council of war was held between the Elector of Saxony and the King of Sweden, at Torgau, in preſence of the Elector of Brandenburg. A reſolution was now to take place which was irrevocably to decide the fate of Germany and the Proteſtant religion. The anxiety of the Elector, which naturally aroſe before every circumſtance of importance, now appeared for a moment to overſhadow the ſoul of Guſtavus Adolphus: "When we now "reſolve upon a battle," ſaid he, "a crown

"and two electorates are at ſtake. Fortune "is changeable, and the inſcrutable decrees of "Heaven can give the victory to our enemies. "It is true my crown would ſtill have a refuge "left, in caſe of the ruin of myſelf and army. "Defended by a conſiderable fleet and a war-"like people, they could ſtill oppoſe the worſt: "but where, in caſe of defeat, can you hope "for ſafety from an enemy which lies ſo con-"tiguous?"

Guſtavus Adolphus diſplayed the diffidence of a hero who did not overrate his ſtrength in competition with that of his enemy; John George, the confidence of a weaker who felt a hero at his aſſiſtance. Impatient to free his country from two armies, he burned impatiently for a battle which might decide the conteſt. He was deſirous, with his Saxons, to advance againſt Leipzig, and attack Tilly. At length Guſtavus Adolphus adopted his meaſures, and determined upon a battle with the enemy before the arrival of the reinforcements which the generals Altringer and Tiefenbach led to him. The united Swediſh and Saxon armies croſſed the Mulda, the Elector of Brandenburg returned homeward.

Early in the morning of the 7th of September the hoftile armies came in view. Tilly refolved to await the arrival of his reinforcements, after he had in vain endeavoured to prevent the junction of the Saxon army with the Swedes, and had, near Leipzig, occupied a ftrong and advantageous pofition, in which he expected to avoid a battle. The impetuofity of Pappenheim induced him, upon the approach of the enemy's army, who were prepared to attack him, to change his pofition, and place his left towards the hill which leads from the village of Wahren to Lindenthal. At the foot of this eminence his army was extended in one line, his artillery divided upon the hill, whence it could fweep the extenfive plain of Breitenfeld. The united Swedifh and Saxon armies now advanced in two columns, which had to pafs the Lober, and a village on Tilly's front. To prevent his paffage of this rivulet, Pappenheim was detached at the head of 2000 cuiraffiers, though after a long refiftance of Tilly, and with exprefs orders not to commence a battle. Notwithftanding thefe orders, Pappenheim encountered the vanguard of the Swedes, but after a fhort conflict was compelled to retreat. To interrupt the enemy, he fet fire to Podelwitz, which, however, did not prevent the

the armies from cloſing and forming in order of battle.

The Swedes formed on the right upon two lines, the infantry in the centre, divided into ſmall battalions, which could be eaſily manœuvred, without diſturbing their order, and were adapted for the moſt rapid movements; the cavalry, placed on the wings, were alſo divided into ſmall ſquadrons, and interſperſed with bodies of muſketeers, which would conceal the ſmallneſs of their numbers and annoy the enemy's horſe. The centre was commanded by Colonel Teufel, the left by Guſtavus Horn, the right by the King in perſon, oppoſite Count Pappenheim. The Saxons were formed at a conſiderable interval from the Swedes; a diſpoſition of Guſtavus which the ſequel juſtified. The order of battle had originally been concerted between the Elector and his field-marſhal, and had barely been laid before the King for his conſent. He appeared anxious to divide the Swediſh proweſs from the Saxons, and fortune did not confound them.

Under the heights towards the weſt the enemy was extended in a long line, which was capable of outflanking the Swediſh army, the

infantry in great battalions, and the cavalry divided equally in unwieldy ſquadrons. His artillery was in his rear, on the heights, and he formed under its range. From ſuch a poſition of the artillery, if this intelligence is to be credited, it muſt be concluded that Tilly's object was more to await than to attack the enemy, as this order rendered it impoſſible for him to break the enemy's ranks without expoſing himſelf to the fire of his own cannon. Tilly himſelf commanded in the centre, upon the left Pappenheim, and upon the right Count Furſtenberg. The combined army of the Emperor and the League amounted on this day to between thirty-four and thirty-five thouſand men; that of the Swedes was nearly of a ſimilar number.

But had a million of the human ſpecies been confronted with another, it could not have rendered this day more bloody, important, or deciſive. It was for this battle that Guſtavus Adolphus had croſſed the Baltic, ſought danger in diſtant countries, and expoſed his life and his crown to capricious fortune. The two moſt conſummate generals of the age, both hitherto invincible, were now, in a conteſt long avoided, to enter into a competition; one of them muſt

leave

leave his paſt renown upon the field of battle. All Germany beheld this day with fear and trembling; the cotemporary world awaited its event with anxiety, and poſterity was either to praiſe or deplore it.

Tilly's uſual intrepidity ſeemed to fail him upon this day; he had formed no regular plan to give the King battle, and diſplaying as little firmneſs to avoid it. Pappenheim had compelled him to an action contrary to his intentions; doubts, hitherto unfelt, combated in his breaſt, gloomy preſentiments overcaſt his brow; the ſhade of Magdeburg ſeemed to hover over him.

A cannonade of two hours commenced the battle. The wind was weſterly, and blew thick clouds of ſmoke and duſt from newly ploughed fields againſt the Swedes. This compelled the King inſenſibly to wheel northwards; and the rapidity with which this movement was performed, did not give time to the enemy to prevent it.

At length Tilly left his eminence, and commenced his attack upon the Swedes; but to avoid the vehemence of their fire, he turned to the

the right, and fell upon the Saxons with ſuch impetuoſity, that he threw their whole army into confuſion; the Elector himſelf retired to Eilenburg. A few regiments ſtill kept their ground, and by a manful reſiſtance ſaved the honour of the Saxon name. Scarce was this confuſion perceived, when the Croats began to plunder, and meſſengers were diſpatched to Munich and Vienna with the tidings of victory.

In the mean time Tilly had vanquiſhed the remainder of the Saxons, and fell with his veteran troops upon the left wing of the Swedes. To that wing, ſo ſoon as he perceived the diſorder among the Saxons, the King had immediately detached three regiments to cover the flank, which was left expoſed by the flight of his allies. Guſtavus Horn, who commanded here, gave the enemy a ſpirited reſiſtance, to which the infantry, divided among his ſquadrons of horſe, not a little contributed. The enemy already appeared to relax in their efforts, when Guſtavus Adolphus made his appearance to terminate the conteſt. The left wing of the Imperialiſts was routed, and the King's troops, which were not hitherto engaged, could be employed in any quarter; he accordingly

ingly wheeled with his left wing and main body to the left, and attacked the eminence where the enemy's artillery was placed. In a ſhort time he was in poſſeſſion of it, and the enemy felt the effect of their own cannon.

The fire of artillery on its flank, and the attack of the Swedes in its front, at length brought the hitherto invincible army into diſorder. A ſudden retreat was all that remained for Tilly; but this retreat muſt be made in the midſt of his enemy. The whole army fell into confuſion, except four regiments of choſen veterans, who had hitherto been unaccuſtomed to fly before an enemy, and now determined not to begin the practice. With cloſed ranks they engaged in the midſt of their enemies, and in the height of the combat gained a ſmall thicket, where they oppoſed the Swedes until night, when their numbers were reduced to ſix hundred; with them fled the remainder of Tilly's army, and the battle was decided.

Amid the dead and wounded Guſtavus Adolphus threw himſelf on his knees, and his firſt expreſſion of joy for his victory was announced in a thankſgiving to Heaven. He ordered the enemy to be purſued, as far as the darkneſs of the

the night would permit, by his cavalry; the noiſe of alarm-bells put all the neighbouring villagers in motion, and proved fatal to ſuch fugitives as fell into the hands of the incenſed peaſantry. The King encamped with his army between the field of battle and Leipzig, it being impoſſible for him to attack the town on the ſame night; ſeven thouſand of the enemy lay dead upon the field, and more than five thouſand were either wounded or priſoners; their whole camp, artillery, and more than a hundred ſtandards, were taken. The Saxons had two thouſand, and the Swedes not above ſeven hundred men miſſing. The defeat of the Auſtrians was ſo complete, that Tilly, upon his retreat to Halberſtadt and Halle, could not collect above ſix hundred men, nor Pappenheim above fourteen hundred. So rapid was the ruin of this formidable army, which had lately put Germany and Italy into conſternation.

Tilly had to thank accident for his perſonal deliverance. Though exhauſted by ſeveral wounds, he ſtill refuſed to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to a Swediſh captain of horſe, who was on the point of killing him, when a piſtol ſhot laid the latter upon the ground. But the vexation of outliving his fame was far more

painful

painful to him than his danger and his wounds; and the losing the labour of his life in one day, was highly grievous. All his victories were now nothing after losing the one which was intended to crown them; nothing remained of his exploits but the execration of mankind which accompanied him. After this day, Tilly never recovered his wonted vivacity, and fortune returned to him no more; even his last consolation, revenge, was denied him by the express prohibition of his master, who ordered him no longer to risk a decisive battle.

To three mistakes are principally attributed the misfortune of this day: to have posted his artillery in the rear of his army upon the heights; to have afterwards abandoned those heights; and to have permitted the enemy, without interruption, to form in order of battle. And how quickly were all those mistakes taken advantage of by the calm presence of mind and superior genius of his adversary? Tilly fled to Halle and Halberstadt, and had scarcely time to have his wounds dressed before he hastened to reinforce himself with the Imperial garrisons in Lower Saxony.

The

The Elector of Saxony had not failed, after the danger was paſt, to appear in the Swediſh camp. The King thanked him for adviſing him to a battle; and John George, during the firſt tranſports occaſioned by this friendly reception, promiſed Guſtavus the dignity of King of the Romans. On the next day the King advanced towards Merſeburg, which was abandoned by the Elector, in order to attack Leipzig; five thouſand Imperialiſts, which he met on his march, were partly cut down, and partly entered his ſervice. Merſeburg immediately ſurrendered; ſhortly after Halle was conquered, whither the Elector of Saxony, after the taking of Leipzig, betook himſelf to concert the future plan of operations.

The battle was gained, but a wiſe diſpoſition could alone render it deciſive. The Imperial army was totally routed, Saxony was freed from the enemy, and Tilly had retreated towards Brunſwic. In order to purſue him, the war muſt be renewed in Lower Saxony, which had ſcarcely recovered from the late ravages. It was in conſequence reſolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, which lay expoſed as far as Vienna to the conqueror; on the right the territories of the Catholic princes

lay

lay open, and upon the left the Emperor might be made to tremble in his capital. Both meaſures were choſen, and the queſtion was, how each of them ſhould be executed? Guſtavus Adolphus, at the head of a victorious army, could find little reſiſtance from Leipzig to Vienna, Prague and Preſburg. Bohemia, Moravia, Auſtria, and Hungary, were defenceleſs, and the Proteſtants in thoſe countries were anxious for a change of affairs. Ferdinand was no longer ſecure in his reſidence; Vienna would open its gates upon the firſt attack; the Emperor loſt his allies with the ſtates which the King detached from him, and he would have willingly concluded a peace with an enemy which was in the heart of his dominions. A conqueror would be flattered by this bold plan of operation, which might have juſtified the adoption of it; but Guſtavus Adolphus, more a ſtateſman than a conqueror, rejected it, becauſe he had to attain a more important end, the iſſue of which he did not chooſe to truſt either to valour or good fortune.

By marching towards Bohemia, Franconia and the Upper Rhine muſt be left to the Elector of Saxony. But Tilly had already begun, from the remains of his defeated army, the garriſons

garrifons in Lower Saxony, and the reinforcements which he received, to reaffemble a new force upon the Wefer, with which it was not probable he would long delay to begin offenfive operations. Againft fuch an experienced general, an Arnheim could not be detached, of whofe talents the battle of Leipzig had afforded but equivocal proofs; it was therefore of little confequence for the King to make rapid ftrides in Bohemia and Auftria, if Tilly again became powerful in the Empire, and raifed the courage of the Catholics by new victories, while he difcouraged the Proteftants; it was equally ufelefs to him to fubdue the enemy's hereditary dominions, while Tilly made conquefts in the Empire. Could he hope to reduce to extremity an Emperor whom an infurrection of twelve years in Bohemia had not weakened, had not fhook the firmnefs of that prince, or exhaufted his refources, with which he now appeared more formidable than ever?

Lefs brilliant but better founded were the advantages which the King of Sweden could derive from an inroad into the territories of the League: his irruption here was decifive. At the fame conjuncture the German princes were convened in a diet at Frankfort, concern-

in

ing the edict of reftitution, where Ferdinand exhaufted all the arts of his cunning policy to perfuade the intimidated Proteftants to agree to a fudden peace. The approach of their protector could alone excite them to a firm oppofition, and to reject the Emperor's propofal. Guftavus Adolphus could now hope, by the terror of his arms, to fubdue the difunited princes, and by his victorious prefence to detach the remainder from the Emperor's interefts; in the centre of the Empire, he here deftroyed the nerves of Imperial power, which could not fubfift without the affiftance of the League. Here, in the vicinity of France, he was enabled to watch that fufpicious ally; and when his private wifhes required of him to cultivate the friendfhip of the Catholic electors, he might render himfelf mafter of their fate by eftablifhing, through a magnanimous treatment, a claim to their gratitude.

He accordingly began his march towards Franconia and the Rhine, and left the conqueft of Bohemia to the Elector of Saxony.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

Now Publiſhing,

THE

COSTUME OF CHINA,

FROM

PICTURES IN THE POSSESSION OF

GEORGE HENRY MASON, Eſq.

Major in His Majeſty's (late) 102d Regt.

THIS Work will be compriſed in Twelve Numbers, each containing Five Chineſe Figures, accurately engraved and coloured after the Originals, with Deſcriptions in Engliſh and in French.

The Size of the Publication is Imperial Quarto, and the Type and Paper of the firſt Quality.

The Price of each Number is Ten Shillings and Sixpence; and no Depoſit, or Money in Advance, is required.

No. I. was publiſhed on the 4th of May 1799, and it is expected the Work will be complete by the Middle of the Year 1800.

With the laſt Number will be given a Title-page, Preface, Table of Contents, and Liſt of Subſcribers.

*** No Expenſe or Attention is ſpared to render the above Work one of the moſt beautiful ever produced in this or any other Country. Such Noblemen and Gentlemen as are deſirous of poſſeſſing early Impreſſions, are requeſted to leave their Names with the Publiſher,

W. MILLER, OLD BOND STREET,

5

Printed by S. GOSNELL, Little Queen Street, Holborn.